THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

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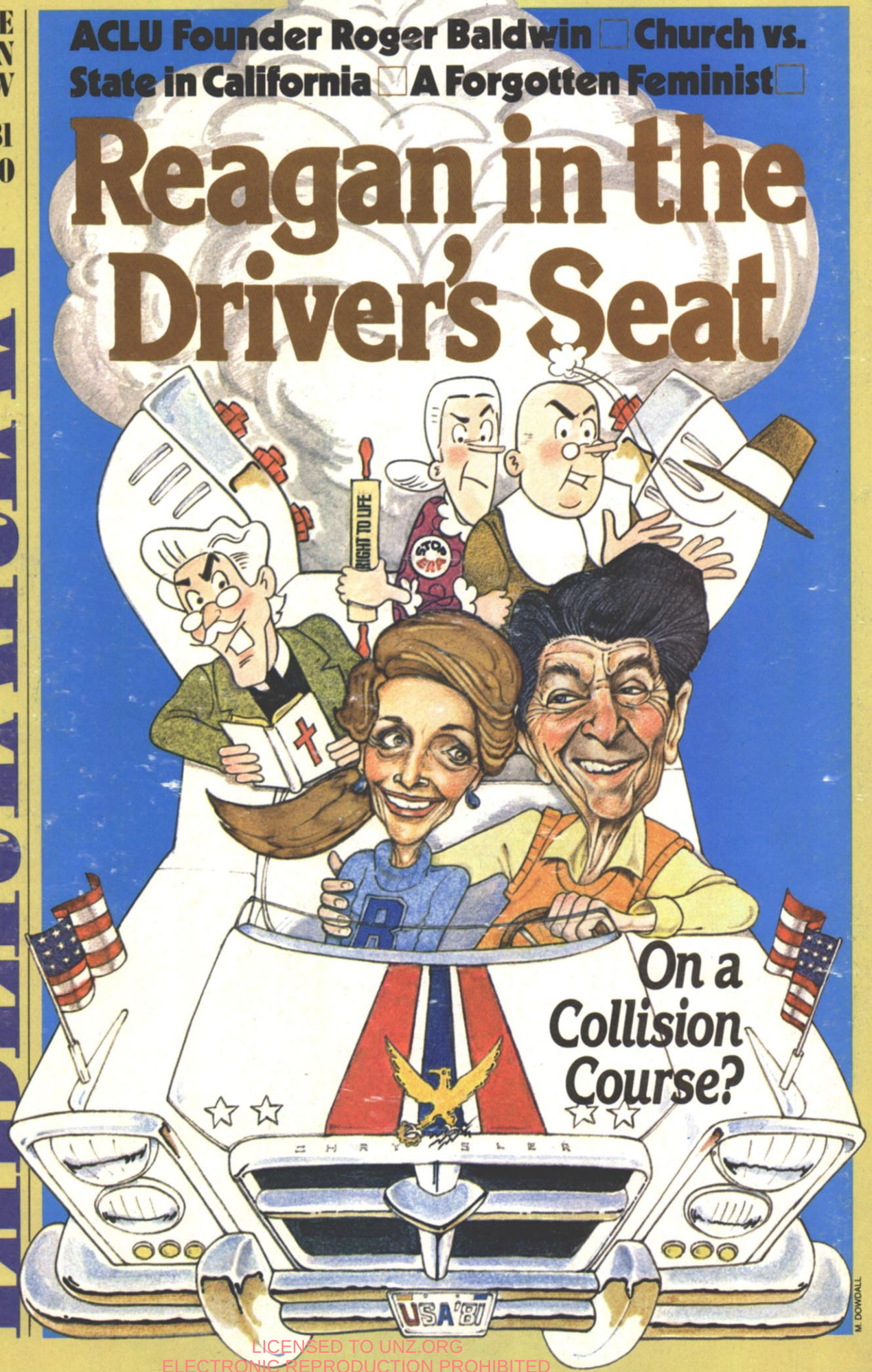
ACLU Founder Roger Baldwin ☐ Church vs. State in California ☐ A Forgotten Feminist ☐

Reagan in the Driver's Seat



On a Collision Course?

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*Economists' Statement in Opposition to the Draft**

We, the undersigned, oppose moves toward the reimposition of the draft. The draft would be a more costly way of maintaining the military than a volunteer force. Those who claim that a draft costs less than a volunteer military cite as a savings the lower wages that the government can get away with paying draftees. But they leave out the burden imposed on the draftees themselves. Since a draft would force many young people to delay or forego entirely other activities valuable to them and to the rest of society, the real cost of military manpower would be substantially more than the wages draftees would be paid. Saying that a draft would reduce the cost of the military is like saying that the pyramids were cheap because they were built with slave labor.

The signers, whose affiliations are listed for identification purposes only, were:

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* *This statement was circulated among various economists by David Henderson, an economics professor at the University of Santa Clara.*

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THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

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LETTERS TO LR

Women and Republicans

JOAN KENNEDY TAYLOR (September) views the Republican Party platform positions on the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion as a kind of systematic retrogression of the Party away from liberty: however, it, and her ruminations on its failings, indicate intellectual disarray more than anything else.

The ERA, for example, is not that single, abstract ban on unequal treatment under law that Ms. Taylor seems to think. The Republicans chose to affirm their support for what they (and most of the non-libertarian supporters of the ERA) believe to be its substance: equal pay for equal work; affirmative action; non-discrimination in extending credit; no discrimination against pregnant women or the mothers of small children (with perhaps the corollary right to provision of child care by employers). In other words, the panoply of state-enforced privileges that we have seen given to other traditionally disadvantaged groups in society. This is how many of the Congressthings who served at the time the amendment passed interpreted what they were about and, since judges will look to the legislative history of the amendment in construing its applicability, we may be sure that these pseudo-rights will be found, regardless of literal interpretation.

The sadness is not that the Republicans have repudiated the ERA, but that they have accepted so many of the premises of its proponents. Even conservative Republicans might reason that they can have all the good things "we are all for," without taking away the discretion of insurance companies to give preferential rates on auto and life insurance or, without opening the way for drafting women, etc.

I wonder if the dichotomy between the interpretation other supporters have given ERA and her own has given Ms. Taylor pause. She might also ask herself: Why single out discrimination in law on the basis of sex at all for the object of a Constitutional amendment? Why not the Constitution's permissive attitude toward bias with respect to race, religion, citizenship, sexual orientation, and age — none of which is forbidden to be used as the basis of discriminatory law? For example, under the category of age, there has been more discrimination in the U.S. than on the basis of sex, as in our treatment of children as chattels of their parents.

The underlying problem is that if one recognizes no distinction between legal and natural rights,or fails to see that others are confused, one is liable to misinterpret what is going on. Thus, Ms. Taylor indicates that the "Human Life Amendment" supported by the Republicans would take away women's right to control their own bodies, as if there were such a recognized right under law with respect to abortion. One need only read the *Roe v. Wade* decision to see that the courts and the government are operating on the premise that they are balancing "compelling state interests" (not recognized by the Constitution) against the "right to privacy" of women (also not recognized by the Constitution). "Rights" constructed out of thin air tend to evaporate quickly, and are not subject to the test of contradiction. Hence, the Nazis felt free to outlaw abortion for certain groups of women, while mandating abortion and sterilization for others in pursuing compelling state objectives. Hence, some supporters of abortion are concerned with population growth and the size of the welfare rolls, not individual rights. Regardless of what Catholic judges once ruled, there is at present in the U.S. only a tentative legal right to abortion, which is not based on a judicially recognized absolute or natural right.

Ms. Taylor's fear that guaranteeing the rights of the unborn would lead, in effect, to the creation of pregnancy police, an enlarged court apparatus, etc., is worth remarking. For, even in the case of born children we have not seen the establishment

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of agencies of surveillance, control, and punishment, even though the rights of millions of children are violated each year by their parents. Not only that, but children lack almost any guarantees, including due process. The goal of the therapeutic state, instead, is to rehabilitate those parents who physically and psychologically "abuse" their children, as if the parents were suffering under some compulsion to torture small animals, instead of committing aggression. Perhaps this is because our society holds that born children, like the unborn, are not "fully human"?

The question of rights (what they are, and who has them) is an important one, making it all the more regrettable that in her understanding of them Ms. Taylor seems not to have gone much beyond the Republican Party and Betty Ford.

JOE PAUL BARNETT
Washington, DC

...THE EDITORIAL BY JOAN Kennedy Taylor, "Where is Betty Ford now that they need her?" compelled me to make this response. There is no law in this country which subordinates a woman to a man unless she voluntarily marries and agrees to serve his pleasure. There is no law in this country which prevents a woman from taking whatever contraceptive measures her husband permits whenever she serves his pleasure.

How can Libertarians support a Constitutional amendment which not only is totally unnecessary but gives Congress "power to enforce, by appropriate *legislation,* the provisions of this article"? The relationship between man and woman is the most complex and intimate of all human relationships. To give the federal government power to regulate this relationship is the most unlibertarian measure imaginable.

As for abortion, the murder of the unborn child, a basic premise of Libertarian philosophy is renunciation of the initiation of force or violence. What can be a more unjustified initiation of force and violence against the most innocent of all individuals, the unborn baby, than abortion?

Ms. Taylor (I assume that she prefers that title) states that abortion was once a woman's common law right. Slavery was once recognized under the common law, also. Our legal system has gone farther to guarantee liberty than any other, until it was perverted fifty years ago. It is long past time to extend the protection of life and liberty to the unborn. Libertarians should be in the forefront of the right to life movement.

Naturally, a woman has the right to defend herself. If the pregnancy would truly menace her life,she has a right to terminate it, but this right should be very carefully balanced by the realization that the second life cannot protect itself.

As I understand Libertarianism, it is a rational philosophy. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of feminism. By trying to unite the two movements in a forced, unnatural marriage, your editors are doing grave damage to the Libertarian movement.

I hope that you will renounce the force and violence and extension of governmental power which are inherent in the so-called Equal Rights Amendment and the related abortion movement and return to true Libertarian principles.

DAVID MACKO
Solon, OH

Taylor replies:

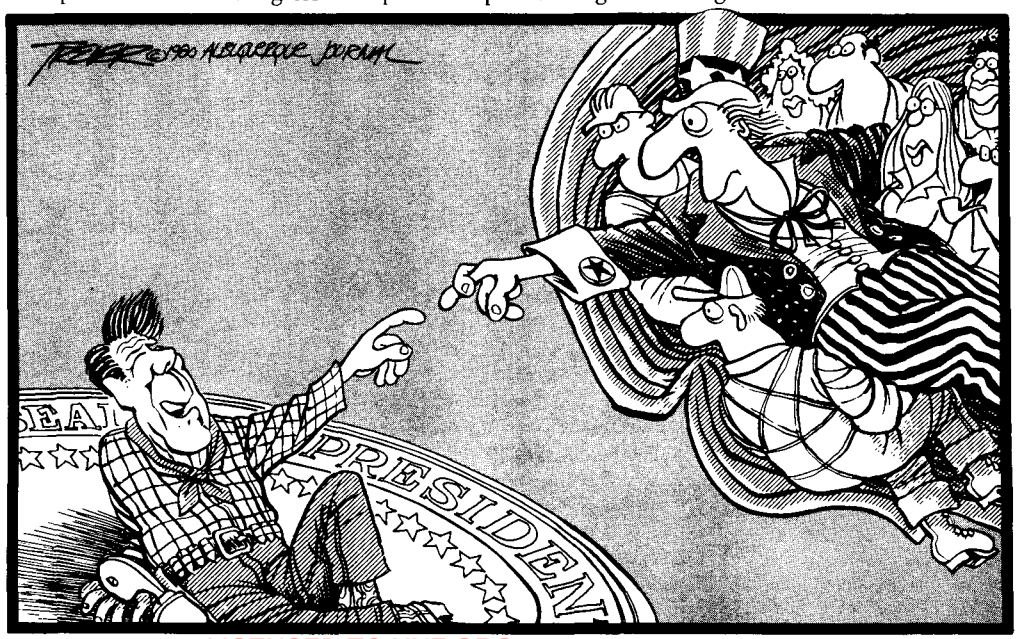
ALTHOUGH MR. BARNETT is correct in his observation that many non-libertarian supporters of the ERA assume that it is just another affirmative action measure, the long and heated and principled discussions that took place at the time Congress acted upon it show an opposite legislative history. In the three Congressional hearings held in May 1970, September 1970, and March and April 1971, every legal expert, whether testifying for or against the amendment, agreed that it did not address private discrimination but government action. The major opponents of the ERA at the time were labor unions and representatives of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor who championed protective labor legislation for women. That was the issue that united the amendment's opponents then, and it is the specific reason that Ronald Reagan gave in his debate with Jimmy Carter for preferring legislation to an amendment.

All of the measures to outlaw private discrimination mentioned by Mr. Barnett are already the subject of federal legislation—no one in Congress or anywhere else has ever suggested that an ERA is necessary to legitimize them constitutionally. What ERA *is* necessary for is to invalidate the thousands of state and federal laws that discriminate against women not only by mandating special working conditions but in establishing domicile, in mandating unequal criminal sentences, and in home ownership, to name but a few areas. The Supreme Court has consistently ruled that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment applies to aliens and members of racial and ethnic groups — but not to women. Mr. Reagan and the Republican platform ignored this fact in pretending that all that women want is the affirmative action which they are cynically willing to provide.

An article in *Ms.* in May 1976 about the conservative campaign against ERA ratification said, "A peculiar historical evolution has left 'conservatives' supporting protective units, the 'radicals,' in effect, advocating the free market. Classical economists would smile more sweetly on the supporters of the ERA than on its opponents." The issue is government discrimination, primarily protective labor legislation; the ERA will restrain legislatures, which is what F.A. Hayek said is the purpose of a constitution, and that's why legislators don't want it.

If Mr. Macko is suggesting that the ERA is exclusively directed at regulating the relationship between the sexes, I hope I have shown that this is not the case. However, the state governments *do* presently regulate this relationship, by setting the conditions under which people may legally marry and divorce and cohabit, and many states invalidate any private marriage contract in addition to the one embodied in state law as being against "public policy" if it excuses the man from the duty of support, or the wife from the duty of providing sexual or other services.

Is Mr. Macko suggesting, by speaking of a woman's "taking whatever contraceptive measures her husband permits whenever she serves his pleasure," that men have the moral right to force their wives to bear



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children against their will? If so, I would emphatically disagree. As for abortion, the fundamental question, it seems to me, is *who* is to decide what may or may not be done to a woman's body—the woman, or the state? I think that the right to abortion is like the right to suicide—a person may be wrong, and even immoral, in exercising it, but the right is inherent in our nature, and therefore should be legal. (I meant to argue from the position that a just legal system would make natural rights into legal rights—sorry if that wasn't clear, Mr. Barnett. You are quite right that no court has recogized an unequivocal right of women over their own bodies.)

A reader disagrees

VICTORIA VARGA'S "VIVA Scum" [August 1980] voiced perhaps the *first* reaction of many at the thought of a hundred thousand Cubans escaping Castro's tyranny. Good for them! They made it!

The second and third reactions are more troubling. I will boil them down a bit to two: the effect on the United States and the effect on Cuba.

Despite the disclaimer of the Florida banker who said, "Everyone said there was no room, no jobs, but things worked out well and they will work out again," things are *not* working out well in Miami. It is another American prejudice that Americans have cornered the market on prejudice. They haven't; the native Floridians are running into a xenophobia from *the Cubans* that stuns them.

No matter how many times the argument "No room, no jobs" has been used before (and not always with validity) it is becoming increasingly true. The fact that the boy had cried "Wolf!" before did not make the wolf any less real when it came and devoured the villagers. The wolf is on its way, and Americans sense it.

Varga takes note of the poll that projected 59 percent of Americans opposed to more immigration from Cuba—and lumps them with the Ku Klux Klan. Roper's polls (in 1977 and 1980) showed a whopping 91 percent opposed to all illegal immigration, and 80 percent opposed to more legal immigration. It takes more than bigotry to get 91 percent of the American people on one side of an issue; that 91 percent cuts across too many class and cultural lines.

At least one of the reasons Americans are taking another look at the whole immigration question is the sheer numbers of people who want to come here. According to Freedom House, 70 percent of the world's population is at least partially oppressed, and 35 percent of that 70 percent are under serious tyranny—military, religious or communist. Americans are simply too realistic to expect to solve the problem by importing people.

How, then, is the problem to be handled? What can we do with a foreign dictator? Fight another world war? Nobody wants that. A covert assassination by the CIA? Nobody really likes that idea, either.

The only real hope is a revolution (yes, just like the one that Castro led against Batista) with, perhaps, a little help from your friends. Thanks to that well-organized, independent boatlift, Castro now has a hundred thousand fewer dissidents to deal with ... his position has been strengthened, as resistance to him within his own country has been immeasurably weakened.

America's immigration policy—the most generous in the free world, by the way—has had the effect of contracting the free world, rather than expanding it. Who, after all, comes? the courageous, the skilled, the able-bodied. Who stays behind? The weak, the helpless, the frightened. The dictator grows bolder, because he can afford to—who is left to stop him?

SHARON LYNN
Washington, DC

Varga replies:

I AM GRATEFUL TO SHARON Lynn for bringing up the wider subject of immigration in her criticism of my Cuban editorial. If it is true that 80 percent of all Americans are against continued legal immigration, this does not mean either that they are right or, necessarily, that they are bigoted. It may only mean that they are misinformed and afraid of change.

Peter Bauer, the British economist, in discussing underdeveloped countries, has said that with every mouth comes two hands. What he means is that people who are willing to work are not a burden to society, but a productive force that gives far more than it takes. They not only eat, they produce; they not only use government services, they pay for them many times over in the form of taxes.

The argument, "No room, no jobs," is very nearly as untrue now as it was in the nineteenth century. Even if the entire population of the world moved to the U.S., we would only have a population more dense than Puerto Rico, but less dense than Bangladesh. But the entire population of the world *would not* move to the U.S. even if it could. It is sheer chauvinism to assume that all those in oppressed nations would prefer to live here. Not only the weak and the frightened, but also those with a great attachment to their homeland, would prefer to remain—possibly, as Ms. Lynn herself suggests, in order to fight against tyranny. In the case of Cuba, the absence of 100,000 dissidents might well help the cause of freedom in that country. The expatriates are now in a position to be an outside source of financial and psychological support for the movement toward revolution.

A reader agrees

THAT WAS A FIRSTCLASS piece on the Criminal Code Reform Bill [by Kathy Sharp, August 1980].

NAT HENTOFF
New York, NY

Two views of *The Empire*

CONCERNING THE FILM, *The Empire Strikes Back*, reviewed in *The Libertarian Review* for August 1980 by David Brudnoy: the reasons that this film is considered to be so good is a most disturbing phenomenon of our society. It is filled with force and violence as well as frightening scenes of people nearly falling off planets, the cutting off of limbs, and dreadfully yucky creatures of sick colors.

As an art form, it is a mishmash of Tarzan, the Lost World, Buck Rogers, and Hopalong Cassidy. In short, it is a rehash of all the old has-been, worn out ideas of the good/bad conflict which accounts for much mental illness and psychological malaise. Your review was belabored and too long.

The film is actually a thinly disguised Christianity with a new face. "The Force" of course is the old concept of God—the father figure in the sky. Excalibur (King Arthur's Knights) is represented in the glowing swords with which Our Hero and Darth Vader duel. Is this dreadful nightmare of a film preparing us for an extra-terrestrial life after the profit kings have destroyed this earth with their unconcerned pollution of water, air and soil? The popularity of this film clearly demonstrates the collective thoughtlessness of the American people. This is, indeed, a sad day for civilization.

MOLLY GILL
St. Petersburg, FL

BRAVO! THANK YOU FOR the best-yet review of the *Star Wars* movies. I really do appreciate your taking the time and space in *The Libertarian Review* to state so well the obvious importance of heroes.

I share your evaluation fully, and your open-eyed view of the similarities between the works of Rand and of Lucas is a great relief in the face of the weird justifications other reviewers have offered for the popularity of the Star Wars movies.

Real heroes *deserve* to succeed in the end! And as long as there still are good guys in this real world, they (we) deserve the joy and celebration provided by the romantic and heroic visions of *Star Wars*.

Again, thanks for your top-notch review. ❑

REX FOWLER
Los Angeles, CA

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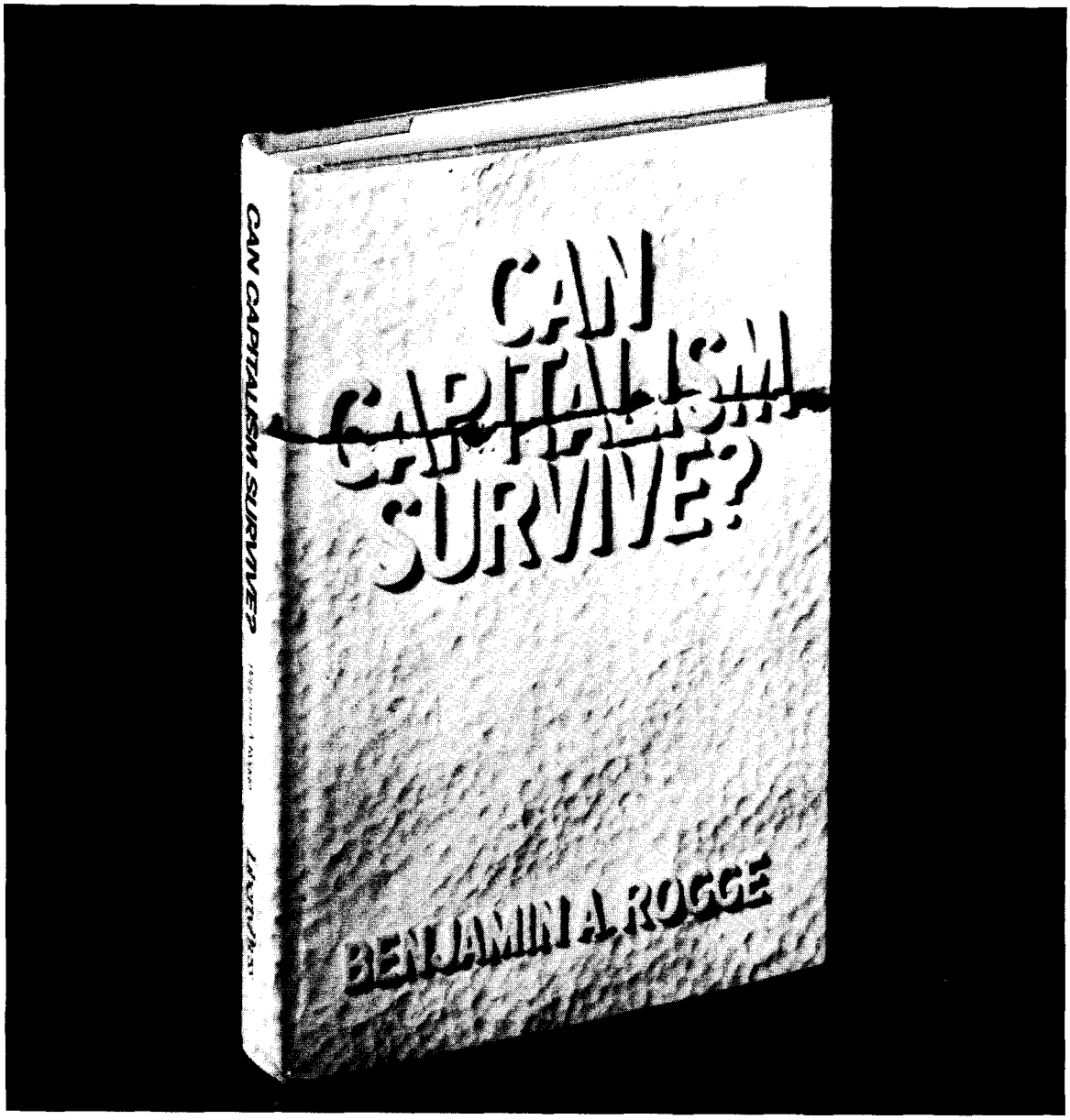

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FREE IMAGE

VICTORIA VARGA

The Freewoman

SHARON PRESLEY

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE is the author of what is probably the only full-length book on libertarian feminism now in existence, a book which her colleague, friend, and mentor, Albert Jay Nock, called "superb." Yet today she is almost unknown among libertarians and barely known among feminists. Of her book, *Concerning Women* (1926), Nock wrote, "at every turn, throughout the future, until freedom is attained, this book will be dug up and drawn upon, like Mary Wollstonecraft, but more effectively, as saying the final thing." *Concerning Women* was out of print until 1972 when it was reprinted in the Arno Press "American Women" series. In 1973 an excerpt entitled "Beware the State" was included in *The Feminist Papers,* an anthology edited by Alice Rossi.

Born in 1893 on a ranch in western Washington, La Follette moved with her family to Washington, D.C., where her father, the cousin of Senator Robert La Follette, served in the House of Representatives for eight years. She and her brother Chester both recall that the adults in the family were all "good feminists."

While in Washington, La Follette got an early lesson about the difficulties women were up against in their struggle for rights. In a letter to Alice Rossi, she described her participation in a women's movement parade the day before Wilson was inaugurated. The progress of the parade was severely impeded, she recalled, by a "seething mob of men who surged around the struggling marchers, shouting obscenities. There were few police in sight, and those who were in sight were making no effort to control the crowd."

After finishing college in Washington, D.C. in 1919, La Follette plunged immediately into the world of politics with a job on the staff of the *Nation*. It was there that she met Nock. And when Nock founded *The Freeman* in 1920, she joined him as one of the editors for the four years of its existence.

After the demise of *The Freeman,* La Follette began work on *Concerning Women*. The most important influence in writing the book, in her judgment, was Nock rather than the feminist movement. It was Nock, confirms her grand-niece Maryly Rosner, who encouraged La Follette to write it. And Nock, who considered himself a "100 percent feminist," was well-pleased with her efforts. "I knew it would be a good

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book," he wrote in a letter to a friend, "but I assure you it is so far beyond all my expectations that I cannot say enough in praise of it. If I am any judge, it is a truly great book."

The tone of *Concerning Women* is set by a passage from Mary Wollstonecraft which appears at the beginning of the first chapter: "Let there be, then, no coercion established in society and the common law of gravity prevailing, the sexes will fall into their proper places." Women's "proper place," thought La Follette, was wherever they wanted to be. To those who, for example, believed that woman's historically secondary role proved something about her essential nature, La Follette replied with typical incisiveness:

> She was humble and subservient, as a matter of fact, for an incredibly long time, so long that there exists a general suspicion even at the present day that there is something in her nature which makes her want to be subject to man and to live as it were at second hand. This thought would be even more alarming than it is, perhaps, if it were not true that men themselves have stood for a good deal of subjection during the world's history.

Though La Follette considered herself a radical libertarian rather than an anarchist, her analysis of feminist issues was as profoundly and consistently anti-statist as those of anarchist feminists like Voltairine de Cleyre and Emma Goldman. The State, she believed, was the natural enemy of women. "It is evident from the very nature of the State," she wrote in a passage directly reflecting the influence of Franz Oppenheimer's *The State*, "that its interests are opposed to those of Society; and while the complete emancipation of women ... would undoubtedly imply the destruction of the State, since it must accrue from the emancipation of other subject classes, their emancipation, far from destroying Society, must be of inestimable benefit to it."

La Follette was apparently not influenced by the nineteenth century anarchists, but she did make one favorable comment on anarchism in her book, in connection with her discussion of men's control over women:

> I know of no stronger argument for the social philosophy of the anarchist; for there is no more striking proof of the incapacity of human beings to be their brothers' keepers than man's failure through sheer levity, over thousands of years, to govern woman either for his good or her own.

La Follette believed that only through full economic independence and personal autonomy could sexual equality be achieved.

Believing that the subjection of women, like chattel slavery or "industrial slavery," had its basis in economics, La Follette considered that the primary way in which the State hurt women was through legally imposed economic disadvantages. Economic freedom was, in her view, far more crucial to women than political equality or the right to vote. "The ultimate emancipation of women then," she wrote in a passage that embodied the main thesis of her book, "will depend not upon the abolition of the restrictions which have subjected her to man — that is but a step, though a necessary one — but upon the abolition of all those restrictions of natural human rights that subject the mass of humanity to a privileged class."

Her belief that economics was at the heart of women's problems led La Follette to a healthy skepticism about the reformist politics of the organized women's movement. "Even if we assume that the establishment of legal equality between the sexes would result in complete social and economic equality," she pointed out, "we are obliged to face the fact that under such a regime women would enjoy precisely that degree of freedom which men now enjoy—that is to say, very little." The State, she asserted, could be forced to renounce all legal discrimination against women without affecting its fundamental discrimination against the property-less, dependent class— *which is made up of both men and women.*" She concluded that "until economic freedom is attained for everybody, there can be no real freedom for anybody ... The State represents the organized interest of those who control economic opportunity ... those who control men's and women's economic opportunity control men and women."

La Follette had no clear-cut solution for the problem of State control of economics, except education. Considering the ballot "ineffectual," she thought it would only be useful when voters came to understand the true nature of the system. People needed to recognize that the "essential nature of freedom ...comes out in the abolition of monopoly, primarily monopoly of natural resources, resulting in complete freedom of the individual to apply his productive labor where he will. It is freedom to produce, and its corollary, freedom to exchange — the *laissez-faire, laissez-passer* of the Physiocrats." Showing the influence of Henry George as well as of the nineteenth century classical liberals, she also asserted, "The right to labour and to enjoy the fruits of one's labour means only the right to free access to the source of subsistence, which is land."

One of the kinds of legally imposed economic discrimination against women which La Follette analyzed in detail was protective labor legislation. In a lengthy chapter which closely foreshadowed modern libertarian feminist concerns, she pointed out that protective labor laws and minimum wage laws reduced women's chances of getting employment and also reduced their ability to compete:

> So rapidly do [protective labor laws] increase, indeed, that women may be said to be in a fair way to exchange the tyranny of men for that of organized uplift. They are sponsored by those well-meaning individuals who deplore social injustice enough to yearn to mitigate its evil results, but do not understand it well enough to attack its causes; by women's organizations whose intelligence is hardly commensurate with their zeal to uplift their sex; and by men's labour organizations which are quite frankly in favor of any legislation that will lessen the chances of women to compete with men in the labour market.

Marriage laws provided another way that the State imposed economic disadvantage on women. La Follette saw marriage as a one-sided contract with all the rights on the side of the husband, countered by unjust privileges on the side of the wife. Marriage laws deprived woman of the right to control property while allowing her to be totally dependent on her husband. Women's economic independence would, La Follette thought, make it possible to escape from traditional marriage concepts that placed women in the role of serfs. And that would make it possible, in turn, to elevate marriage to a higher plane: "For only when marriage is placed above all considerations of economic or social advantage, will it be a way to satisfy the highest

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demands of the human spirit."

Like the nineteenth century anarchist feminists, La Follette did not approve of State control of marriage in any respect. Institutional marriage was, in her opinion, simply a way for the State, the Church, and the community to interfere with a personal and private matter: "Marriage under conditions arbitrarily fixed by an external agency is slavery; and if we allow the right of an external agency — be it State, family or community — to place marriage in so degrading a position, we necessarily deny the freedom of the individual in this most intimate of relationships."

As examples of State interference in marriage, she indicted the regulation of birth control, which she saw as being forbidden for political and religious reasons; divorce laws, which made it difficult to free oneself from an unhappy marriage; and the concept of "illegitimacy," which placed a stigma on children born without the permission of the State. Her solution was to call for "marriage without legal sanction," i.e., without the State, at least for those who were willing to make that choice. Many modern day libertarians, more earnest in their theory than their practice, would do well to take inspiration from her unflinchingly radical position. (For the record, La Follette never married.)

The Church as well as the State came under La Follette's attack. She considered marriage and divorce laws to be impositions of Christian morality, which as practiced was, in her view, anti-woman, hypocritical, and puritanical. As a radical libertarian, she was, of course, opposed to laws which enforced morality, but she also saw clearly the negative, even devastating, social and psychological effects of such laws: "Society can never be made virtuous through arbitrary regulation; it can only be made unhappy and unamiable. The attempt to suppress all unauthorized expression of the sex-impulse in women tended to make them not only miserable and abject but hypocritical and deceitful; and it tended also to make men predatory."

Both in her book and in various later articles, La Follette struck out against hypocritical morality, condemning censorship, laws against prostitution, and laws limiting reproductive freedom. Her radical analysis of motherhood out-of-wedlock anticipated modern feminist thinking on that issue. Speaking out strongly against the rejection of the so-called illegitimate child, she saw unwed motherhood as a defiance of the idea of male proprietorship. Men condemned illegitimate children, she thought, because out-of-wedlock sexual activities implied a sexual freedom for women which would threaten male dominance.

The libertarian theme of *Concerning Women* is aptly summarized by Alice Rossi at the conclusion of her introduction to "Beware the State": "On issue after issue La Follette comes down on the side of the least degree of state interference in the lives of men and women and a consistent belief that it is only through full economic independence and personal autonomy that sex equality will be achieved." Sadly, however, this marvelous gem of a book was desultorily received. By 1926, concern with feminist issues was at an ebb and the book was reviewed in only a few magazines, then forgotten.

After the publication of *Concerning Women*, La Follette turned her humanistic sensibilities to the field of art. "All art," she declared, "serves humanity by the simple fact of its existence." Her interest in art, first publicly evidenced by a series of articles in *The Freeman*, led her to write a second book, again at Nock's suggestion. *Art in America* was published in 1929—"just in time for the market crash." It has since become a classic of art history, and was reprinted in 1968 by Harper and Row.

La Follette's approach to art was as individualistic as her approach to feminism and to politics. Writing in the *American Mercury* in 1925, she proposed endowing individual artists rather than institutions. "The salvation of humanity," she declared, "never yet lay in the hands of any institution, not even in the hands of the Church. It is and always has been the individual who has cleared the path of human progress."

Not only an art historian but — briefly — a poet too, La Follette published two poems in 1927, "Ulysses" and "Wind on the Heath." Both were reprinted in *The Best Poems of 1928*.

In 1930, La Follette founded and became editor of the *New Freeman*. She was well-equipped to do so. Nock considered her "the best editorial mind I ever saw." In a letter to a friend in 1926, he wrote, "I think she is just as good an editor as I am and even a shade better (if you will look back on *The Freeman*, you will see that when she had it, she produced a trifle better paper than I did) and in another five years will be much better than I could ever be."

The *New Freeman* revived the concept of the original one: it was politically libertarian and broadly humanistic, concerned with cultural and social events as well as political ones. Each issue contained several pages of commentary on current events written by La Follette, usually expressing cynicism about government meddling in foreign or domestic affairs. Occasionally the commentary would include feminist topics such as protective labor laws, the Woman's Party, prostitution, alimony, and divorce laws. Art, drama, music, and literary criticism and reviews also graced the *New Freeman's* pages, as well as Nock's "Journeyman" commentary.

An elegant and intellectual magazine, it was not without humor also. In one issue of the *New Freeman*, for example, subscriptions were solicited with this ad:

Are your mind's eyes looking forward or merely recreating images of the past?
The aged hold far too obstinately to their outmoded ideas.
Perhaps that is why the natives of the Fiji Islands kill their parents when they grow old.
They facilitate evolution by garroting their ancestors.
"We retard it," says Anatole France, "by founding academies."
In other words, Fiji is right.
Why not side-step old age by keeping your ideas young?
Read the *New Freeman*.

The timing of the *New Freeman*, however, was as unfortunate as the timing of La Follette's books. After 15 months, the magazine's financial backer, suffering from the Depression, had to withdraw support and the *New Freeman* folded.

The *New Freeman* was, unfortunately, the last public place in which Suzanne La Follette ever commented on feminist issues. The relatives and colleagues I interviewed for this article don't recall hearing her discuss feminist issues as such again after the magazine folded. But her brother Chester points out that she would have been unlikely to talk about such topics with people who agreed with her.

There are a few indications that La Follette retained her feminist views in later years. In 1964, when the New York Conservative Party, of which she was a co-founder, came out in favor of anti-abortion laws, she demanded that her name be dropped from the Party's

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letterhead—and it was. "She may not have said 'I'm doing this as part of the feminist cause,'" her grandniece Maryly Rosner told me, "but she believed in things that were part of the feminist movement." La Follette's colleagues in later years recall that she would not tolerate sexist remarks. "Suzanne would not take any putdown because of sex," says Priscilla Buckley. Columnist John Chamberlain remembers that "she didn't like people criticizing women."

After the *New Freeman* ceased publication, La Follette free-lanced for magazines like the *Nation, The New Republic*, and *Scribner's*, writing on her favorite topics of art, economics, labor, and current affairs. Always a perceptive observer of political affairs, she wrote an early indictment of Hitler and fascism for *Scribner's* in 1933.

VICTORIA VARGA

The suppression of the sex impulse in women tended to make them not only miserable, but hypocritical and deceitful.

Then, in the middle '30s, came one of the most important efforts of La Follette's life—her involvement with the trial of Leon Trotsky. Her previous qualified sympathy for the Soviet Union for what she perceived to be its experiments in economic justice had begun to sour in the early '30s with the first news of the Stalin purges. Her reaction was to join the Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, an organization trying to secure asylum for him. Then in 1937, when the Dewey subcommittee of inquiry to investigate the treason charges leveled against Trotsky was formed, she became its secretary. Though John Dewey was the chairman because of his prestige, Chester La Follette recalls that the inquiry was actually his sister's idea. As secretary she attended the interrogation of Trotsky in Mexico and played a major role in writing the subcommittee's final report, *Not Guilty*. Her papers from this inquiry now reside in the Harvard library.

From 1937 to 1941, with the aid of a Guggenheim Fellowship, La Follette worked on a book on the economics of art. Though she had thought it was going to be her "magnum opus," it was never finished and she returned to freelance writing in the '40s.

In 1950, *The Freeman* was reincarnated for the second time, this time with John Chamberlain and Henry Hazlitt as editors and La Follette as managing editor. This new version of *New Freeman* was, in Chamberlain's words, "anti-statist and anti-communist." He told *Time* magazine, "We want to revive the John Stuart Mill concept of liberalism. We feel we're rescuing an old word from misuse." In 1952 a policy split over Taft vs. Eisenhower caused so much dissension among the Board of Directors (La Follette favored Taft, of course) that the magazine was sold, and finally ended up in the hands of Leonard Read and the Foundation for Economic Education. (There is very little resemblance, however, between the present F.E.E. *Freeman* and those edited by Nock and La Follette.)

During this period, La Follette's main focus became anti-communism. Not only the purges of the '30s, but the sufferings of her Russian friends (one woman's whole family was exterminated by Stalin because she had left Russia) convinced La Follette that the Soviet Union was a major threat to liberty. She even went so far as to defend Joe McCarthy, though she knew his methods were "slipshod." But, according to Chamberlain, she saw McCarthy as the only one willing to fight the Communists in the State Department.

In 1955, La Follette became a founding editor of *National Review* and worked as its managing editor until her retirement in 1959. Her anti-communism was the main reason she was willing to work with traditional conservatives like the Buckleys. In those days, recalls Chamberlain, there was no libertarian-conservative split. There were "precious few" of either and no place to publish except a handful of conservative journals. But, Chamberlain adds, La Follette was "not a traditional conservative — we were all anti-statists."

Though a few articles by La Follette appeared in *National Review*, including her introduction to the reprint edition of Nock's *Snoring as a Fine Art*, she wrote progressively less each year. Chester La Follette recalls that his sister was bothered because she felt that William Buckley never really utilized her literary talents. Helen Tremaine, her close associate, concurs, noting that "Suzanne complained that Bill Buckley never liked anyone's writings but his sisters.'"

But if La Follette did not write much for *National Review*, she was important as one of its editors. Indeed, her most significant contribution to the libertarian cause (apart from writing *Concerning Women*) may have been to nurture and direct four magazines. Too often the contributions of editors are insufficiently appreciated — writers get all the glory because they are more visible. But good editors are as crucial to a magazine as good writers. Not only Nock but her later colleagues like Chamberlain and Priscilla Buckley considered La Follette to be an excellent editor. She was, Chamberlain says, "a very good stimulator of other people's ideas and great at originating ideas."

Today, La Follette is in complete retirement, not even well enough to be inteviewed, but remembered vividly by her friends as a beautiful and cultivated woman, "opinionated," "overwhelming" but "perfectly gracious," "extremely kind" and loyal. Suzanne La Follette is both remarkable as a person and admirable as a libertarian. Her contributions as a writer, editor, feminist, and radical libertarian deserve to be widely recognized and appreciated by libertarians and feminists today. ❑

Sharon Presley is the National Coordinator of the Association of Libertarian Feminists. She wishes to acknowledge the following people for their help in making this article possible: "Charles Fowler, who first drew my attention to the excerpt in *The Feminist Papers;* and those who graciously consented to be interviewed — Maryly Rosner (La Follette's grand-niece), Chester La Follette (her brother), and her colleagues, John Chamberlain, Priscilla Buckley, and Helen Tremaine. This research was made possible in part by a grant from the Center for Libertarian Studies."

Free Heritage is an occasional **LR** *column devoted to the lives and works of the individualist and libertarian writers and thinkers, usually (but not always) dead and forgotten, who fought for freedom when it was even less fashionable than it is today, and so made our present fight the easier.*

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THE LANDSLIDE BEFORE THE STORM

ROY A. CHILDS, JR.

"Landslide. Yes, landslide—stunning, startling, astounding, beyond the wildest dreams and nightmares of the contending camps, beyond the furthest ken of the armies of pollsters, pundits, and political professionals," gushed *Time* magazine. "After all the thousands of miles, the millions of words and dollars, the campaign that in newspapers across the land on the very morning of Election Day was still headlined TOO CLOSE TO CALL turned out to be a landslide."

Not all the media reports were as breathless as *Time*'s, nor as Pollyanna-ish as *Time*'s resident pontificator, Hugh Sidey, who chirped "We Are Off on a Special Adventure." But they were comparable. "Reagan Era Begins, New

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If Ronald Reagan's landslide victory was a mandate, was the mandate for traditional conservatism, the Moral Majority, or some new shade of the political spectrum?

Deal Era Ebbs," trumpeted the *Christian Science Monitor.* The national conservative weekly *Human Events* seemed to agree: "Victory at Last!—How Sweet it Is," it exulted. *Newsweek* merely headlined, "The Republican Landslide."

And a landslide it looked to be. Reagan beat Carter by more than eight million votes—43,201,220 to 34,913,222—swept away the incumbent's support in 44 of the 50 states, and swamped Carter in electoral votes—483 to a mere 49. The percentage points looked equally decisive. Fifty-one percent for Reagan to Carter's 41 percent. The Republicans gained an impressive 33 seats in the House. Even the incredible happened; for the first time since 1952 the Republicans grabbed control in the Senate, throwing 12 Democrats into the streets. The voters brutally punished prominent liberals and Democrats, defeating even George McGovern, the very symbol of liberalism, who took a dive by an astounding 20 percent.

Human Events, ever gracious in victory, gloated: "All those big-name liberals who had so bedeviled conservatives over the years were gone. Frank Church (D-Idaho), the extremely dovish chairman of the Foreign Relations panel; George McGovern (D-S.D.), the dyed-in-the-wool radical, who always seemed to be singing hosannahs to some Communist or leftist dictator; John Culver (D-Iowa), the ex-Marine turned unilateral disarmer; Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), the pro-ERA, pro-busing, and anti-military power on the Judiciary and Intelligence panels; Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), the anti-business member of the Finance Committee; Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.), the big-spending chairman of the powerful Appropriations panel; etc." [November 15, 1980]

Democratic socialist John Judis, writing in the independent socialist weekly, *In These Times,* summed it up: "It's 'No' to Liberalism by a Landslide." And the liberals seemed to have got the point: "What happened in the 1980 election reflected a profound and general turn to conservatism in this country," Anthony Lewis wrote in a column called "The Tidal Wave." (*The New York Times,* November 6) And, commenting on the lame-duck session of Congress, a liberal House Democratic leader said woefully, "It's the last drink before Prohibition." (*The New York Times,* November 11)

Almost before the votes were cast, key figures of the New Right and Moral Majority who claimed to have worked long and hard to elect Reagan had begun issuing threats to the incoming Administration. The morning after the election, New Right kingpin Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich, head of the Committee for the Survival of a Free [sic] Congress, and Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell launched attacks on Bush and other moderates surrounding Reagan, taking credit for Reagan's victory to themselves and promising to make life difficult for him if he didn't appoint conservative hardliners to top Administration posts. The evening after the election, Weyrich and Falwell appeared on ABC's late night news, gloating about their victory and sassing defeated Senators Church, Bayh, and McGovern, who feebly attempted through a television hook-up to fend off their attacks and their threats to the few remaining liberals in Congress. Terry Dolan, head of the National Conservative Political Action

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Committee, released a list of target Senators and Congressmen for 1982, including not only obvious political enemies like Senators Edward Kennedy and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but hawks like Senator Henry Jackson, as well.

And when Ronald Reagan began choosing moderate Ford and Nixon-type conservatives for key transition positions, the New Right panicked and began to howl. "New Right Angered by Reagan Choices," thundered one headline, while *Human Events* worried publicly over the old-guard nature of top figures in the transition team. They were bothered, too, by the bluntness with which George Bush took them on, after their brash attempt to intimidate him. At a news conference on November 10, Bush said that conservative religious groups would not over-influence Ronald Reagan when he took over the White House, and snapped: "I take violent exception to certain individuals in some of those groups, some of their positions, and have stated it publicly and am not intimidated by those who suggest I better hew the line. To hell with them." In the offices of Richard Viguerie and Associates, the National Conservative Political Action Caucus, and Moral Majority, there was audible gnashing of teeth.

Meanwhile, some very worried people on the left were sweating out Ronald Reagan's ascension to power. Writing in the leftwing San Francisco *Bay Guardian,* sixties veteran Alan Kay mused:

> It's scary, this visceral sense that we can't trust the world. It hit me with much the same impact as did that first assassin's bullet, a long 17 years ago. And it seems to me I recognized echoes of this same anguish in the heavy, empty faces and darting eyes I saw on 24th Street, on Telegraph, on Columbus, and on Cortlandt last week. People—at least the ones I've been able to check in with—have been a little crazy. Maybe I have also.
>
> How could America have done it? [November 13]

"How could America have done it?"—the anguished cry swelled into panic, as the left took to the streets in Berkeley, in a symbolic, nostalgic gesture.

> Barely an hour after Jimmy Carter's concession speech, several thousand Berkeley residents were marching in the streets to protest Reagan's election, in what turned out to be the kickoff of a 24-hour spree of anti-Reagan protests. By 7:30 Wednesday evening, 54 people, many of them UC Berkeley students, had been arrested.... 3500 people marched through the streets of Berkeley, led for much of the way by a man carrying a poster of Ronald Reagan and George Bush with the words "The End is Near" inscribed on it. [*Bay Guardian,* November 13]

What can we make of an election whose results have panicked both the New Right *and* the remnants of the New Left, both the Moral Majority *and* the Permissive Minority? What did the election symbolize? These are the questions people have been asking, the questions the pundits have tried to answer with a sea of ink which, if released all at once, would have flooded every state Reagan carried (to borrow a rhetorical device from the President-elect himself). What was Reagan's mandate a mandate *for?* Was it a breakthrough election of the stature of Roosevelt's victory in 1932? More important, what impact will it have on the political spectrum as a whole, on the Left and the Right? These are the questions which need to be addressed. And they need to be addressed because there is a time bomb ticking, not only in the Reagan Administration, but in the whole conservative movement: the coming of age of the members of the baby boom generation, and their increased participation in American politics.

Why Reagan won

Reagan's mandate has been most loudly claimed by the "Reaganites," as James Q. Wilson called them in *Commentary,* employing a long familiar word in a special limited sense, to designate the members of a broad social and political movement which wants the government off our backs in economic matters, which is driven into a rage by "permissiveness" and by what it regards as increased "immorality" in American society, and which wants a hawkish, interventionist, "get-tough" foreign policy. At the core of this movement stands the New Right, an aggressive group which had a significant impact on the 1980 election.

In his essay on "Reagan and the Republican Revival," Wilson put it this way: "the Reagan candidacy is a candidacy based on *issues,* issues which the candidate has developed over the better part of two decades and which now, taken as a whole, command the assent of a very large proportion of the American people...." (*Commentary,* October 1980) Wilson spelled out the beliefs of this new movement thus:

> Reaganism stands in opposition to those who believe in the unrestrained right of personal self-expression and the need for government to rationalize all other aspects of human affairs by rule and procedure. Reaganism opposes those who would legalize marijuana, abortions, and pornography and tolerate or encourage draft resistance, all in the name of personal freedom, and who would support court-ordered school busing, bans on gun ownership, affirmative action, and racial quotas, all in the name of rationalizing and perfecting society.

Or, as Richard Viguerie put it in an interview with *The New York Times,* the establishment Right "began to reach out and strike an alliance with social conservatives" and the "whole movement began to come alive."

And the Reaganites have succeeded in persuading some interpreters that their values do lie behind the Reagan mandate. David Broder, for example, wrote in the *Washington Post* of "two different agendas for the new administration." As Broder conceived it, "the economic mandate is to reduce government spending, taxation and regulation and give people more room to seek their own goals. The social mandate is to expand government's efforts to prescribe and regulate individual behavior."

Yet in fact, the contradiction here—between relaxing government control in one area and simultaneously expanding state power in two others (foreign policy and personal freedom)—is what ultimately will wreck the Reagan mandate, and leave it in ruins.

Consider the *facts* about Reagan's election. Reagan reached his peak shortly after the Republican convention in Detroit, and then began to fade. Carter went on the attack while Reagan became defensive. And Carter's most effective thrusts were at Reagan's social views and his foreign policy. Reagan spent the better part of the crucially important final weeks reassuring the American people that in fact he was *not* a warmonger. In the end, he succeeded, and Carter's support collapsed. That is what is important about Reagan's win: *it was a referendum on Carter's economic policies.* Period.

All polls, especially those conducted immediately after the election, show that the vote represented a rejection of Carter's economic policies, and little else. The *Los Angeles Times* poll of November 20 found that "two thirds of the voters, when asked which 'two or three' issues played 'the most important' role in influencing their decision, named the economy. No other issue came close."

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State and Local Races: Mostly Runs and Hits

Voters in 36 states this year had the opportunity to choose Libertarian candidates other than Ed Clark and David Koch for federal, state, or local offices, and the results of their selections show a general upward trend for the Libertarian Party.

The high points include the Alaska races, where two Libertarians were elected to the state legislature; three U.S. Senate races, in which Libertarians represented the "balance of power" in close contests; and races for other offices scattered around the country where Libertarians earned surprisingly high vote totals.

Apart from these partisan races, it's encouraging to note the election of Mary K. Shell, a registered Libertarian, to the non-partisan office of Mayor of Bakersfield, California. Shell's political affiliation was generally known and to some extent discussed during the campaign.

Alaska

Dick Randolph of Fairbanks won re-election for a second consecutive term in the lower house of the state legislature, and will be joined by Libertarian Ken Fanning, elected to his first two-year term from the same district.

Fairbanks voters choose six winners to represent them in Juneau; in a field of 18 candidates—six from each party—Randolph and Fanning finished first and fourth, respectively. Randolph's vote total of over 10,000 stands as the highest ever cast for a State Representative in Alaska history, and represents a substantial improvement over his sixth place, (5,500 vote) showing in 1978.

Other races in Alaska produced results for Libertarians which, while not victorious, were matched by few Libertarians in the "lower 48."

Balance of Power

The U. S. Senate races in Arizona, Idaho, and North Carolina were decided in each instance by fewer votes than the total won by the Libertarian candidate. In Arizona, Barry Goldwater squeaked out a victory of less than 8,000 votes while Libertarian Fred Esser won 12,000; in Idaho, Larry Fullmer's total of 6,700 was half again the size of the margin between winning Republican Steve Symms and losing Democrat Frank Church; and Libertarian Rick Pasotto in North Carolina won more than 7,500 votes, while Republican John East upset incumbent Robert Morgan by only 7,000.

High percentages for Libertarians in U.S. Senate races were gained by Bud Shasteen in Hawaii and Tonie Nathan in Oregon, both with 4 percent of the vote; and Allan Hacker in Nevada, with 3 percent. Libertarian National Chairman David Bergland won just over 2 percent in his Senate race in California.

Of the relatively few statewide races other than U. S. Senate contested by Libertarians, those in Oregon were remarkable for the consistent level of 4 to 5 percent achieved by Libertarian candidates despite tiny campaign budgets. And in Texas, David Hutzelmann, running for Railroad Commission (the top office on the Texas ballot this year and one which regulates all state utilities), took nearly 90,000 votes, a showing which strongly indicates future Libertarian success in that state.

Overall, the "balance of power" position became more common for Libertarian candidates at every level. Several of them achieved this status in the California congressional and legislative races, and the phenomenon appeared in several other states as well.

Reaching this position has been a conscious interim goal of Libertarian strategists, but without any intent to "get" one or the other of the major parties. No analysis is yet available to show whether Libertarians in "balance of power" races drew more heavily from Republicans or from Democrats, and from the Libertarian point of view, such an analysis would be no more than a matter of passing interest. The objective for now is for the Libertarian Party to become a measurably strong, politically independent factor in the elections of each state and district.

Western Bias

Not surprisingly, Libertarians neared this goal far more often in the western half of the country than in the east. In three-way races in California, Hawaii, Arizona, and Nevada—all states where Libertarians have established a political presence in the past—Libertarian candidates had consistently respectable percentages of 3 to 6 percent with several even higher, notably the 8 percent showings of Bill Evers and Dan Mahaffey in California congressional contests.

Of the four highest showings in three-way races nationally (outside of Alaska), three were in the west: Roberta Rinehart with 17 percent of the vote in a California Assembly race, Buck Crouch with 19 percent in an Arizona State Senate race; and Mary Harris with 14 percent in the contest for Clark County (Las Vegas, Nevada) Public Administrator. The other particularly high result was Ben Olson's 14 percent in a three-way contest for state representative in rural Iowa.

The most outstanding results gained by Libertarians in two-way races were Vivian Baures's 32 percent for Treasurer of Jackson County, Oregon, and the 42 percent racked up by Michael Tanchek for a state representative seat in Montana against an incumbent Democrat.

Eastern results for Libertarians were uniformly lower, reflecting both a relative unfamiliarity with the Libertarian Party and a more consistent loyalty to the two party system on the part of eastern voters.

The Bottom Line

Looking at the national picture, two notable, measurable Libertarian achievements stand out: First, the fact that, nationwide, as many as 500 Libertarian candidates did run; and second, the fact that the joint efforts of the Clark campaign and local Libertarian candidates earned future ballot status for the Party in 13 states.

The Libertarian Party now has ballot status for 1982 in Alabama, California, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, South Carolina, and Wisconsin, plus 1984 Presidential ballot status in Alaska and New Mexico. Ballot access is particularly burdensome and expensive in California, Michigan, Montana, Oregon, and Wisconsin, and the total savings on future ballot drive efforts in these thirteen states come to well over $100,000.

No doubt many individual Libertarian candidates and their supporters were disappointed with the results, but the overall trend is definitely up for the Libertarian Party. The total number of candidates in 1980 was two-and-a-half times that of 1978. The typical voting percentage increased from the 1 to 3 percent range to the 3 to 6 percent range. The 1980 Alaska results proved that Dick Randolph's 1978 victory was no fluke, but rather that he has expanded and strengthened the Libertarian constituency in that state. Libertarians made their first-ever electoral efforts in many states and cities, and the Party can expect to improve on their results in future elections.

As a general trend, Ed Clark's vote for President ran *ahead* of Libertarian percentages for what were perceived as important statewide offices (U.S. Senate, Governor), and ran *behind* Libertarian percentages for Congress, state legislature, and minor statewide office. This trend probably indicates a positive attitude toward Clark and Libertarians roughly described as follows: "I like Clark, but not enough to vote Libertarian for President, so I'll show my approval by voting Libertarian in a less important race." Thanks to the 500 Libertarian candidates who were willing to run in 1980, an estimated three percent of all voters nationally did in fact cast at least one vote for a Libertarian candidate.

This means that over two million voters—more than double the 1978 figure—were willing to break lifelong loyalties to the two party system and give at least a qualified endorsement to Libertarians. Should this trend continue, it will auger well for the long-term prospects of the Libertarian Party in the 1980's and '90's.

—Chris Hocker

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The *New York Times*/CBS poll of November 8 found that fully 38 percent of those who voted for Ronald Reagan "were motivated more by dissatisfaction with President Carter than by serious ideological commitment to Mr. Reagan's views." That amounts to nearly 16.5 million votes—twice the number by which Reagan trounced Carter. By contrast, only 11 percent of those voting for Reagan did so because "he's a real conservative"—which amounts to 4,750,000 votes.

Moreover, according to the *Times*, the voters in this "throw the rascals out" category "tended to decide their choice later in the campaign and to be considerably younger than other Reagan voters. They were also less likely to call themselves conservatives, more likely to name inflation as the major issue in the election, and less likely to oppose the proposed Federal Equal Rights Amendment."

Two days before the election, *Washington Post* reporter Haynes Johnson interviewed some of these younger voters on a Boston college campus. "Three things are most striking about the conversations with young voters here," Haynes wrote,

their great concerns over the possibility of war, their general unease about the state of the economy and what kind of life they will have in it, and their way of wrestling out which of those concerns trouble them most and affects how they will vote.

By the time you reach here, after nearly two months of traveling in every section of the country, it's clear that the apprehensions about war have become an overriding concern among Americans. Reagan's candidacy has suffered because of it: The seeds of doubt about his possible presidential actions have been planted effectively. To win, he must reassure those who are troubled by what they think, or have heard, about him. [November 2]

One student who told Haynes Johnson about his concern was Greg Beswick of Northeastern University.

"The Big problem we have in our country," he says, "foreign policy aside, is, of course, inflation. Quite frankly, Carter hasn't done much to stem the tide." But that concern has been outweighed in his mind by a larger one, and it is one that has become increasingly critical in the minds of Americans who *will* go to the polls in two more days—the question of war and peace. "One big factor," he says, "is—well, let's face it, for the last four years we've been at peace. And that's a very strong consideration. Reagan kind of scares me. I don't really know how to take the man. Sometimes he says things that are quite frightening."

Greg was speaking for much of the country. He was one of the tens of millions of people who nervously watched the debates that Tuesday before the election, and who made up their minds afterwards. As he settled in to watch the debate, Greg Beswick was inclined to vote for Carter. As he put it, "I'm leaning towards Carter for the reasons of peace."

But consider what Greg had to say to Haynes Johnson after the debate:

Greg Beswick watched and listened and recorded, all as he had planned. When it was over, he found himself completely reversed from where he had begun. "I think it's going to be Reagan," he said, early the next morning. "He did a number on Carter last night. He was better able to explain his positions. It changed my views quite a bit." He paused, and said:

"As you know, the war or peace question was vital to me. Maybe the things I heard about Reagan being dangerous were distorted. He did not present himself as that kind of person last night."

Reagan's style

Reagan did not present himself as dangerous to most other Americans, either, that fateful night. He did just what he set out to do, carried it off with considerable style, and handily won the election. Consider the dramatic effectiveness of his final appeal to the viewers of that debate, an appeal, directed not to their *fears*, but to their *hopes:*

Next Tuesday is Election Day. Next Tuesday all of you will go to the polls. You'll stand there in the polling place and make a decision. I think when you make that decision it might be well if you would ask yourself: Are you better off than you were four years ago? Is it easier for you to go and buy things in the stores than it was four years ago? Is there more or less unemployment in the country than there was four years ago? Is America as respected throughout the world as it was? Do you feel that our security is safe? That we're as strong as we were four years ago? ....

This country doesn't have to be in the shape that it's in. We do not have to go on sharing in scarcity, with the country getting worse off, with unemployment growing.... All of this can be cured. And all of it can be solved....

I would like to have a crusade today. And I would like to lead that crusade with your help. And it would be one to take government off the backs of the great people of this country and turn you loose again to do those things that I know you can do so well, because you *did* them and *made* this country great.

Consider the effectiveness of these words and their impact on undecided voters, particularly younger voters. And consider another anecdote, told by a reporter on national television the evening of the election from Reagan's victory celebration at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles. The reporter noticed a young, enthusiastic Reagan supporter.... smoking marijuana. He walked over to her, and said, "Don't you know Reagan's against all that?" and she responded: "The hell with him." This, you understand, was an enthusiastic Reagan *supporter.* Hardly a member of the Moral Majority.

If a pot-smoking young woman, and a college student fearful of involvement in another war felt comfortable voting for Reagan, and if these were not atypical Reagan voters (remember that only eleven percent of Reagan's voters voted for him because he was a "real conservative") then what was the mandate all about? The fact is that there were only two clear messages sent in that "mandate": voters want a strong defense, and they want government to get off their backs in their economic affairs. They did not vote for an interventionist foreign policy—voters remain wary of adventurism and do not want to get involved in a war—and they did not vote for the moral or religious views of the New Right.

In a fascinating article entitled "Is This the End of an Era?" in the October/November 1980 issue of *Public Opinion,* Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg argue that "[s]omething very important has happened in American politics. People have changed their minds. Something very important might be happening now: people chang ing their politics. The political tide has turned, but will the Republicans be able to ride the realignment wave?"

The authors of this article wrote in 1970 of "the Social Issue" as a time bomb ticking in the Democratic tent. Traditional values were being eroded by those perceived to be linked to the Democratic party....

Now, the Republicans face the danger of the flip side of the Social Issue. It is still true (as in 1970) that Americans approve of "traditional values." But it is also increasingly true that, Garbo-like, they want to be left alone. The tacit toleration (for others, at least) of drug use, abortion, pornography, illegitimacy, homosexuality and pre-marital-living-together, represents a tidal and liberating change in American attitudes and culture. Surely these changes have engendered hostility and often repugnance, but most Americans seem to be willing to live and let live....

The Republican party having brought its traditional conservatives to the moderate mainstream of economics and politics—a

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mainstream with deep, cool water and good fishing—can risk the whole catch by heading off into the shallow, rocky, swirling eddies of right-wing social issues. Emphasis on prayer-in-the-school, anti-sex education, anti-gay rights, anti-pornography, anti-E.R.A., anti-abortion amendments and anti-evolution is a one-way ticket to the Swamp of No Return. Among other things it should be noted that some of those good ole boys in church on Sunday morning had their pickup trucks at the XXX-rated drive-in on Saturday night.

This is a message which Richard Viguerie and company ignore at their peril. And if they do ignore it, they can't say they weren't warned. In a column in the *Washington Post,* David Broder took "The Pulse of the Public," and made a point very similar to the one made by Scammon and Wattenberg. Referring to what he sees as the "two agendas" for the new administration—the "economic mandate" to reduce government spending, taxation, and regulation, and the "social mandate" to prescribe and regulate individual behavior—Broder wrote that if the Reagan people choose the economic agenda, "they have a chance of success that can broaden their constituency," while if they choose the social agenda, "they will squander their energies in what is probably a losing cause, divide their own ranks and alienate the very voters who could make them the majority party of the next three decades."

As Broder argues, there is *no* widespread agreement among Americans that the social changes we have seen in recent years are in fact as destructive as the Rev. Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority make them out to be. When asked whether trends toward social permissiveness are evidence of "moral decay" or of "greater social tolerance," Broder reports, "the cross-section of Americans of all ages answered 'Tolerance,'" and by a margin of 3 to 2. More significantly, among those between 25 and 35 the margin was 3 to 1. Among members of the "baby boom" generation, in short, the moral views of the Moral Majority are not in favor.

The baby boom

And the baby boom is on the march. All polls show that tolerance for social diversity, for alternative lifestyles and the like, increases as the population gets younger, reflecting a liberalization of views across the generations. The baby boom generation contains a full one-third of the people in this country, more than 75 million people who were born during the historic "baby rush" from 1946 to 1964. And, if anything, as those in the post-baby boom generation reach maturity, as the older and more conservative generation dies out and is replaced by younger people in positions of power and influence, general social attitudes toward different lifestyles and personal habits are likely to move farther and farther away from the views of the New Right and Moral Majority. Demography is destiny. Moral Majority, RIP.

Commenting on the Reagan landslide, George Will caught the scent of this in a single sentence: Reagan's win, he wrote, "does not mean that the meanies won." And in a surprising column in *The New York Times,* William Safire wrote of the same phenomenon in terms of a battle shaping up in the conservative movement. Safire sidestepped the issue of foreign policy, to which we shall return shortly, and focussed instead on a developing conflict within conservatism between traditionalism and libertarianism, a conflict which will only be accentuated now that the Right is ascending to power.

The traditionalists want government to uphold society's values—to bolster the family unit, to censor the pornographic, to discourage divorce, to encourage prayer, to curb abortion, to lend government sanction to their cultural propensities. They place a high priority on personal security against crime and on national security against aggression.

The libertarian conservatives are quite different: they may believe fiercely in some or all of the above "family values," but they are even more fierce in their belief that government is wrong to legislate morality. Moral matters are for individuals to decide, provided they do not brutalize others. The libertarian (with more consistency than the liberals) wants government out of his personal life, and is willing to take the risks and responsibilities of such self-reliance.

Safire has caught more than a glimpse of the truth here, but there is more going on than he apparently realizes. There also is a battle going on between radical libertarians and the left, on the one hand, as to whether a socially permissive, anti-militarist, anti-interventionist political movement is going to stick with a decaying socialism or move toward a free market radicalism, in which laissez-faire is used as a weapon against established powers rather than as an apology for the status quo. And there is a battle between radical libertarians and libertarian conservatives over the issue of an interventionist foreign policy.

In a way, Safire's very sidestepping of the issue of foreign policy is itself symbolic. For American foreign policy is another time-bomb ticking away in the conservative camp. The hawkish foreign policy of the Reagan right is on a collision course with reality, as well as with the "conservative consensus" which supposedly expressed itself this year. Before the election, by a margin of 3 to 1, voters thought Reagan more likely than Carter to get the U.S. involved in another war; Reagan spent the last three weeks of the campaign assuaging their fears. But the issue did not disappear: by a margin of 11 to 1, voters who supported Reagan say they want him to keep America out of another war. In this light, consider what Reagan represents in foreign policy, and the facts he will have to confront in the years to come.

Throughout the campaign, Reagan continually addressed the themes of American "weakness" and our "inferiority" to the Soviets. He even threatened "a new arms race" to bring the Soviets back into line. He spoke of a "consistent, firm foreign policy" to "make America number one" and proposed to "reassert America's preeminent role in the world."

Yet, as Stephen Rosenfeld of the *Washington Post* has pointed out,

What Republicans and like-minded Democrats have won is not simply a mandate for a new policy but the obligation to tackle anew the old defense question, "How much is enough?" Or, better, how much is enough for what?

At a certain point—at least by the second year, when the military increment starts to get very big and the Republican Party's now-substantial civilian constituencies start to get very demanding—Reagan will come under pressure to show that he's spending those extra billions on the Pentagon for cause.

And that he will be hard-pressed to do. For, like it or not, he is going to have to contend with the logic of an interventionist foreign policy. Consider the facts:

(1) An increasing number of nations in today's world are going their own way, refusing to be dominated either by the U.S. or by Moscow. As a result, the whole Reaganite view of the world—that the Soviet Union is behind every world crisis, and that Soviet dominance is on the rise—is shot through with myths.

In a special issue of *The Defense Monitor* published early last year and devoted to "Soviet Geopolitical Momentum: Myth or Menace," analysts of the prestigious Center for Defense Information found:

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(a) that "the percentage of Soviet-influenced countries in the world started at 9 percent in 1945, rose to about 14 percent in the late 1950s, then declined in the 1960s and finally rose back to about 12 percent in the late 1960s. It has remained at this level for the past ten years. *According to this indicator, Soviet world influence was at its height in the 1950s and there has been no significant Soviet geopolitical momentum in recent years.*"

(b) that, moreover, "nothing that has happened [since the late 1950s] has really made up for the decline in the power of the Soviet bloc ... that occurred when the Soviets lost China," while "Soviet inability to hold the allegiance and support of important Third World countries over the long term has been the major weakness of the Soviet Union in attempting to expand its influence," so that "Soviet losses in the late 1970s have just about equalled gains."

(c) that "American actions have usually played no important role in the emergence of conflict between the Soviet Union and its clients. On the contrary, threatening American behavior has often helped solidify Soviet relations with affected countries..."

(2) The Reaganite view that Russia and its Warsaw Pact allies are outspending the U.S. and NATO is simply not true. Military spending by NATO exceeded that of the Warsaw Pact every year in the 1970s. Both blocs approximately doubled their military spending over the last decade, reaching, by the end of the '70s, about $212 billion for the U.S.-NATO group versus $175 billion for the U.S.S.R.-Warsaw Pact group.

(3) Reagan and his advisors say they want to slash taxes, increase defense spending, and balance the budget, all at the same time. Realizing that high taxes cripple productivity, and that deficit spending and the monetization of debt cause staggering rates of inflation, Reagan has pledged to reduce taxes and bring inflation under control by balancing the budget. Yet already he is backing away from his promise of balanced budgets, and giving drastic increases in defense spending a higher priority.

Reagan wants to increase defense spending at a rate of up to 10 percent a year in real terms. Republican Senator John Tower, incoming Armed Services Committee chairman, has suggested that, in real terms, the defense budget should rise even more—from Carter's 1980 budget of $157 billion to $294 billion by 1985. Yet, such spending will necessitate not only higher taxes—Reagan still has proposed no significant cutbacks in non-defense spending—but also an even higher rate of inflation. Unlike simple domestic redistributions of wealth, which transfer resources from one group to another, defense spending takes real resources entirely out of the productive economy—in effect, burying them. As Earl Ravenal has pointed out, weapons can do only one of two things: they can rust or explode (and he prays that they'll rust). This means that stepped up arms spending can only result in relatively *more rapid* price increases throughout the economy than would be caused by other government spending, because real goods and services available to people would be reduced. The proposed Reagan defense policies would thus lead to nothing but higher taxes, greater deficits, and more inflation—all of which are likely to anger the new President's constituents. By the end of 1984, Ronald Reagan may be signing the first *$1 trillion budget*—so much for "getting the government off our backs."

(4) Then there is the demographic problem with manpower which we will face over the next few years—as a result of the decline in the birthrate over the *past* few years. Right now, to fulfill manpower requirements in the armed services, 1 young man in 11 must volunteer for service. Within a few years, that number will rise to 1 in 8. If Reagan tries to increase our "conventional" forces, including troops, that 11 may quickly be reduced to a 9 or 10 now, and to a 6 or 7 by later this decade. If Reagan brings more women into the armed services to solve this problem, he risks angering his "pro-family" constituency. And if he resorts to the draft, he'll touch off widespread social upheaval; the riots in Berkeley and elsewhere which greeted his "mandate" in November will become a return of 1960s-type activism and protest.

(5) On the other hand, if Reagan achieves his manpower goals by increasing military pay and other benefits, he will launch the U.S. on a policy which will not only require higher taxes, but will also, in a complex and fascinating fashion, set us on a treadmill to national bankruptcy. To understand why, we must digress for a moment on the methods used by the U.S. government to estimate Soviet defense spending—and how they have led to the present clamor for increased U.S. defense spending.

Arthur Cox, former CIA official and defense analyst, reported on the matter this way in the *Washington Post:*

> In 1976, the CIA made what appeared to be an astounding discovery about Soviet defense outlays. News outlets throughout the country headlined the story, "CIA Doubles Estimate of Soviet Defense Spending." The media were poorly briefed. Nobody at CIA thought the Soviets had suddenly increased their defense spending by 100 percent. But the impression was allowed to stand and has not been clarified. [August 17, 1980]

It was then that Congress accepted the myth that the Soviets had doubled their defense spending in real terms during the 1970s. "But," writes Cox, "the facts are very different. At no time has the Soviet defense budget been increased by more than 3 percent a year." The reason for the misunderstanding is that the CIA decided in the mid '70s to use a new method to calculate the dollar cost of the Soviet military: by estimating what it would cost the U.S. to duplicate or buy the whole Soviet defense establishment. But this method is subject to considerable error. There are vast differences in the costs of U.S. and Soviet defense programs—especially in manpower costs. The Soviets have twice the military personnel of the U.S., and the CIA has been estimating the cost of this by multiplying the number of Soviet military personnel by *U.S. military pay and allowance rates.* In the final analysis, all the scare stories about the Soviets' having engaged in "the most massive military buildup in history" have resulted from this calculation problem.

So if Reagan significantly increases military pay and benefits, what will happen? Given the CIA's method of computing Soviet defense spending and the Soviets' 2 to 1 advantage in military personnel, every time we increase military pay and benefits for American servicemen, *Soviet defense "spending" will increase by double that amount* even though *actual* spending hasn't increased a dime. Moreover, every time we initiate a military advantage and the Soviets attempt to match it, since the Soviets have roughly half the GNP of the U.S., their defense spending will increase by more than *twice* the U.S. increase as a percentage of GNP even though the dollar increase will be only slightly more than the U.S. increase.

Thus, the more Reagan attempts to "match" the Soviets, using the CIA figures as a measure, the faster he will be chasing his own tail. Given the large percentage of our defense

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budget which goes for military pay and benefits, the Soviets will be able to sit back and watch Americans spend themselves into bankruptcy.

Already, our whole interventionist foreign policy—which not only costs us better than two-thirds of our defense budget every year, but which also produces the opposite of its intended results—is about to fall apart. Already there is considerable foot-dragging on the part of such allies as Britain and West Germany, both of whom are now stalling about increasing their own defense spending by the 3 percent per year in real terms which we recently got them to promise. If we attempt to force the NATO countries to increase that still more, what economic havoc will we produce among our Western allies? If we take a hard-line position of all-out support for Israel, as Reagan has suggested, what will that do to our relations with Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern nations? If we support South Africa, as Reagan has suggested, will we alienate much of black Africa in the process and possibly push it into the arms of the Soviets? And if we do, will we once again take this as an example of Soviet "expansionism," and increase our own intervention still more in response? Will we again alienate the nations of Latin America, including our neighbor Mexico, by—as Reagan has suggested—giving more massive aid to the gangsters running El Salvador?

If we take such a course in our foreign policy, can anyone doubt that after four years of Ronald Reagan, the world will be more chaotic, that American "interests" will look even more besieged than they do today, and that defense spending will escalate to the point where both taxes and inflation are simply out of control? Ronald Reagan's foreign policy will inevitably be wrecked on the shoals of economic reality, in much the same way that the puritanical social values represented by the "Reaganites" will be wrecked by the coming-of-age of the more "permissive" baby boom generation.

A new consensus?

This is why the time is ripe for a "new consensus" of the sort represented by Ed Clark and the Libertarian Party, a consensus which favors drastic slashes in taxes and spending, complete deregulation of the economy, abolition of victimless crime laws, and a foreign policy of nonInterventionism, with matching budget cuts in the Department of Defense. The time is ripe for new ideas that stretch beyond old coalitions. Every public opinion survey shows that Americans want government to get "off their backs," that they think taxes and spending are too high and that inflation is an abomination for which government is primarily to blame. In their personal lives, they wish to be left alone to pursue their own values. And their demand for an improved national defense is by no means the same thing as a demand for more interventionism or for a continuation of the American role as global policeman. As Ed Clark pointed out in his 1980 campaign for the Presidency, we would be *more* secure, not less, if we disengaged from our entangling alliances, which only serve as tripwires to involvement in crises.

The failure of the Reagan administration will come precisely because, unlike Ed Clark, *Ronald Reagan is not an opponent of big government.* Capitalism, personal freedom, and a noninterventionist foreign policy must go hand in hand.

The relationship between capitalism and personal freedom, or "permissiveness," has been stated most forcefully by the English writer Samuel Brittan in his masterwork, *Capitalism and the Permissive Society.* "The values of competitive capitalism," he wrote in 1972, "have a great deal in common with contemporary attitudes, and in particular with contemporary radical attitudes."

> Above all, they share a similar stress on allowing people to do...what they feel inclined to do rather than conform to the wishes of authority, custom or convention. Under a competitive system, the businessman will make money by catering for whatever it is that people wish to do—by providing pop records, or nude shows, or candyfloss. He will not make anything by providing what the establishment thinks is good for them. An individual citizen is free to maximize his income by using his abilities...to cater for public tastes. But he does not have to. He can go for the easiest or most congenial job, or the one with the most leisure; or, like most of us, he can find some compromise between these alternatives. In any case his life-style is his own. He can concentrate on personal pleasure, social service at home, the relief of poverty abroad, or any combination of these and numerous other activities.
>
> *Competitive* capitalism is far from being the sole or dominating force of our society.... But to the extent that it prevails, competitive capitalism is the biggest single force acting on the side of what is fashionable to call "permissiveness," but what was once known as personal liberty. Business enterprise can, of course, thrive and prosper alongside a great deal of "moral" prohibitions and prescriptions, whether enforced by law or public opinion. But the profit motive will always be kicking against such restraints and seeking to widen the range of what is permissible.... The profit motive will act both to stretch the existing laws and as a force for its liberalization.

As the members of the baby boom generation come of age, they will see this, and, inevitably, they will come to question more closely the underlying assumptions behind our interventionist foreign policy. Growing up in an anti-government age, in the midst of the Vietnam War and Watergate and all the other scandals of the past decade and a half, they will form the core of that new coalition of voters and citizens which will call for moves toward deregulation at home and nonintervention abroad, toward a slashing of taxes here and a slashing of commitments abroad, toward an end to puritanical social views and a growing intolerance of the abuses and authority of government. They will be the center of a libertarian movement which will reject old categories, stereotypes, and political premises and instead break new ground.

In homage to Richard Cobden, the great classical liberal who advocated laissez-faire and opposed British imperialism, Samuel Brittan put it best: "The need for a modern Cobdenite movement which would combine a belief in both personal freedom and economic freedom with nonintervention overseas has still to be met. It might attract much more general support than the conventional Tory or Labour politician would suppose."

This is the time bomb ticking today in America, in both conservative and liberal camps. With Ronald Reagan's victory, the Right has come to power, and it will either fail, or else be forced to drop whole segments of its self-contradictory agenda for the 1980s and beyond. In the meantime, the Left has collapsed. The stage has been set for a new beginning. Garnering nearly a million votes last year, five times their Presidential total in 1976, and nearly 200 times their results in 1972, Ed Clark and the Libertarians have made their mark. As the Libertarian Party and the baby boom generation come of age together, they will have an impact that may be as deep and profound as the American revolution itself. ❑

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Oh God!*

JACK SHAFER

THE WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD FIGHTS FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WITH A LAWSUIT THAT SEEMS DESTINED TO END UP IN THE SUPREME COURT.

"I am going to be open to these people," President-elect Ronald Reagan told reporters on November 6, referring to the newly politicized evangelical Christians who played such an active role in the 1980 campaigns. "I'm not going to separate myself from the people who elected us." The moral majoritarians will be looking for a number of different things from the Reagan administration, of course, and not all of them are things libertarians would be happy to see them get. But one demand of the new religious right should win the full sympathy of libertarians, as Joan Kennedy Taylor argued last month—the demand that the current trends toward government control of churches be stopped dead and then reversed. And if President Reagan is interested in learning why that demand is so pressing in the minds of the evangelicals, he could do worse than direct his attention back to his home State of California, where a particularly sinister drama of church versus state has been performed in the courts for the past two years.

The State of California staged a *coup d'etat* on the morning of January 3, 1979. The object of the *coup* was not a foreign power, but the Worldwide Church of God (WCG), headquartered in Pasadena. Based on charges of criminal wrongdoing filed by six dissident WCG-members, the State threw the Church into receivership. A Court-appointed receiver led a surprise blitz on Church headquarters backed by agents of the Attorney General's office, private attorneys, and armed law enforcement officers. Startled WCG employees resisted and were threatened with physical force, arrest for contempt of court, and dismissal if they did not cooperate with the invading force. A WCG secretary was quickly fired by the receiver. The financial pulse of the Church ceased as the receiver and his staff seized the administration of the Church and ordered its bank to stop payment on all checks, triggering a withdrawal of the WCG's line of credit, a declaration of default on an outstanding loan (which the bank covered with Church assets on deposit), and destruction of the Worldwide Church of God's excellent credit rating.

*Section 9505

Two years later the State has dropped all lawsuits against the Church and its leaders. Not a single

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act of wrongdoing by the Church or its leaders has been proven, and the Church has regained absolute control over its affairs. But the fact remains—the State of California took over a church two years ago, rending the wall separating church and state with a fissure fit to rival the San Andreas fault, a fissure that can be either mended or deepened by the outcome of a $1.2 billion lawsuit filed by the Worldwide Church of God against the State of California and co-conspirators, charging denial of due process, unreasonable search and seizure, violation of freedom of association, and infringement of the First Amendment guarantees of freedom to establish and exercise religion. It is a lawsuit which seems destined for the U.S. Supreme Court.

The State's takeover, ironically enough, had its roots in a schism within the Church. No church has ever avoided schism. The pursuit of God and His truth seems always to provoke disagreement among mere mortals. The WCG's schism revolved around Herbert W. Armstrong, the Church founder, and his son, Garner Ted Armstrong. While the Worldwide Church is the church that Herbert built, handsome Garner Ted, or GTA as he is often called, also laid a few bricks himself. GTA began by guesting on his father's broadcast programs and later hosted his own popular series. But GTA's good looks and charisma had an edge that cut both sacred and profane. If he was dynamite on the tube in the service of the Lord, he was also dynamite with women, and in the early seventies he succumbed to the temptations of adultery. When Herbert W. Armstrong discovered his son's fall he gave him a leave of absence and told him to put his lust on hold. But a repentant Garner Ted was reinstated a few months later and back riding the airwaves. GTA's fall and his father's lightning pardon struck some Church members as hypocritical, and this, along with rumors that Church financial af-

The leader of the WCG, Herbert Armstrong, calls the Church Treasurer, Stanley Rader (top), "my beloved son in whom I am well pleased." When a court-appointed receiver took over WCG property, 2000 church members demonstrated. (bottom)

WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD

WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD

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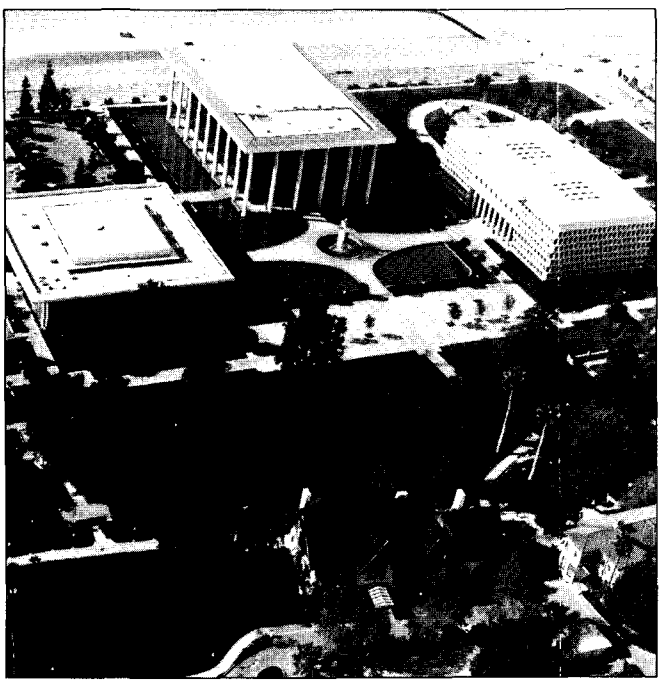
The beautiful Ambassador Auditorium in Pasadena, California, site of Church headquarters and Ambassador College. (Bottom) A sit-in protesting the takeover.



WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

fairs were askew, led to a noticeable but very minor exodus of clergy and laity.

Meanwhile, as GTA's star alternately rose and sank, Stanley R. Rader's star steadily advanced. Rader, a topnotch CPA and attorney, had worked for the Church and its allied Ambassador College since the fifties and eventually became Herbert W. Armstrong's globe-trotting companion and closest advisor—which made him GTA's natural rival. Rader made serious inroads on GTA's turf when he was baptized by the elder Armstrong in 1975 in a Hong Kong hotel bathtub. Thereafter, Herbert W. referred to Rader as "my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased."

Under Rader's counsel the WCG set up a secular arm, the non-profit Ambassador International Cultural Foundation (AICF), which brought high-culture concerts to the Church's glittering Ambassador Auditorium on the immaculate Pasadena campus of Ambassador College and also spun off two publishing ventures, *Quest* magazine and Everest House book publishers, both based in New York City. By 1977 a fragile balance of power existed within an empire which now counted its assets at more than $80 million. GTA ran the day-to-day operations of the Church and College and preached to the video faithful. Rader manned the money and the AICF, and Herbert Armstrong kept a firm hand on Church doctrine.

Then in August 1977 Herbert W. Armstrong suffered a heart attack that set off a power scramble. Church doctrine places Armstrong at the pinnacle of the Church's hierarchy; as Christ's chosen Apostle he occupies a position of authority similar to the Pope in the Catholic Church. But the WCG has no College of Cardinals to elect a new leader. "God chooses," says Armstrong. But when the Apostle, now well into his eighties, lay stricken in Arizona in 1977, some decided to give God a little help choosing a new one.

Garner Ted asserted his power by announcing that Ambassador College's Texas campus would reopen. But Stanley Rader had the rallying Apostle's ear and spoke with his authority. Rader made GTA's announcement inoperative, cancelled his television programs, and had him ousted from his positions as head of the Church and College. Garner Ted, busted to spiritual buck-private and told to stonewall the inquisitive press, instead gave an interview in which he claimed that the Church was in financial trouble because of lavish spending and was "shot through with fear." That sealed his fate. The Worldwide Church proudly models itself on the rank-by-rank authoritarianism of the military. And Garner Ted's ensuing fourth and final "disfellowship" (excommunication) was the equivalent of a court-martial. As one former WCG member snickered, "He's lucky *he* wasn't 'shot through!'"

The Rader-GTA rivalry continued. Rader tried several times to buy Garner Ted's silence about confidential WCG matters. But GTA rejected the offers, went back to Texas, and established his own media church, the Church of God, International. Then the power-playing seemed over: GTA was out, Rader was in, and Herbert W. Armstrong wasn't going to die—at least for the time being. Peace returned to the "Government of God."

But the peace was short-lived. In late 1978 six dissident WCG-members, some of them followers of GTA, approached attorney Hillel Chodos with "information and belief" alleging that Rader, Herbert W. Armstrong, and other leaders were liquidating Church property on a massive and

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rapid scale and stuffing their pockets with the loot. Chodos took the charges to California Deputy Attorney General Lawrence Tapper who then filed a complaint on the State's behalf requesting that a receiver be appointed over the entire WCG operation.

Tapper and Co. committed several procedural violations in their haste to take over the Church. The selection of judges was not random, the Church was not notified of the hearing, and Superior Court Judge Jerry Pacht heard the complaint before it had been filed and paid for, all contrary to court rules. If all that sounds shady, the next revelation is decidedly dark: Attorney Chodos brought his friend, ex-judge Steven Weisman, to the hearing as his handpicked candidate for receiver. Judge Pacht imposed the receivership and appointed Weisman receiver. The State was now in control of a church.

A momentary digression on receiverships: They are usually imposed only as a drastic last resort to prevent internal hit-and-run looting and to protect corporate records from destruction during litigation. A receiver generally has almost dictatorial powers within the corporation. He can hire and fire at will, conduct audits and investigations, dispose of corporate assets, and direct the use of corporate records. The salary of the receiver and his aides comes from the treasury of the corporation under fire. Answerable only to the court, a receiver is supposed to be an impartial third-party, and is supposed to be neutral to the interests of the two parties in litigation.

Steven Weisman was *not* an impartial third-party. As an ex-judge, Weisman was a former employee of the very State tied up in litigation with the Church. How could he be neutral? Weisman was also a personal friend of the attorney for the original complainants, Hillel Chodos, who helped him get the job of receiver. Surely, Weisman could be expected to be partial to Chodos and his interests. In fact, Weisman displayed his partiality toward Chodos immediately, by appointing Chodos deputy receiver, thereby creating a receivership managed by the counsel for the original complainants and his friend.

And even aside from this tangle of stealth and conflict of interest, the choice of Weisman as receiver was a terrible one. He had no previous experience running a multi-million dollar corporation, nor did he have any understanding of the doctrines of the church he now commanded. Appointing Weisman receiver of the WCG to protect it was like bombing the Church to save it.

The wedge the Attorney General used to crack the First Amendment wall between Church and State and take over the WCG was a wild new interpretation of California's Corporation Code Section 9505. At the time of the coup the WCG was registered with the State as a non-profit, property-holding corporation, as most churches are. The Attorney General asserted that the Worldwide Church was not only a church but also a *charitable trust* and invoked Section 9505, which gives the Attorney General the power to make certain that assets and records of such trusts are being used properly. By definition, the assets and records of a charitable trust are *public* assets and *public* records; the Attorney General is the guardian of the trust for the public. Through this legal sleight-of-hand the State was able to argue that because there were no private interests there were no private rights to consider and therefore no constitutional rights to uphold like due process, freedom of association,

Herbert W. Armstrong, the 88-year-old self-proclaimed Apostle of the Worldwide Church of God, whose heart attack set off a power struggle in August 1977.

WORLDWIDE CHURCH OF GOD

About the Worldwide Church of God

Herbert W. Armstrong discovered God after suffering several business setbacks just prior to the Great Depression. In 1933, at the age of 41, he ended his search for the "true" church by founding his own. Armstrong quickly took his ministry to the airwaves and prospered.

The WCG is a Christian church based on Herbert Armstrong's interpretation of the New and Old Testaments. As Christ's chosen Apostle, Herbert Armstrong teaches that the Anglo-Saxons are descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel, who will inherit the promises of land and riches God made to Abraham's progeny. After the apocalypse the Messiah will return and WCG members will figure highly in His rule over a Kingdom of God here on earth.

The Church observes the Jewish Holy Days and celebrates the Sabbath on Saturday. Members are forbidden to eat pork and shellfish.

The WCG's mission is to spread the news of the coming Kingdom through visits by WCG leaders to world dignitaries and dissemination of its version of the Gospel through over 400 broadcast outlets and in such publications as the slick monthly, *The Plain Truth*. Spreading the news of the coming Kingdom is called "the Work."

The Church has somewhere between 30,000 and 100,000 adult members.

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protection against unreasonable search and seizure, and freedom of speech.

The WCG fought back. Thousands of its members demonstrated and blocked the entry of the receiver into Church headquarters. The receiver responded by further violating Herbert W. Armstrong's freedom of speech. Weisman halted 60,000 copies of a letter from the Apostle which directed the faithful to circumvent the receiver's control of Church finances by sending their offerings directly to Armstrong in Arizona. But Armstrong spread the word by phone. And soon, nearly all contribution income was flowing into his control. Church lawyers, meanwhile, filed a suit for damages against the State and fought to have the receivership lifted. Finally, Church members posted a $3,749,689 bond to protect the Church's financial records during a stay of the receivership, which was then granted. And after nearly three months in the religion business, the State of California was kicked out. But Garner Ted, who some say precipitated the whole mess so he could return as boss, was never called in from the wings.

The siege continued in the courts until mid-October 1980, when SB 1493 became law and Attorney General George Deukmejian dropped the case. It is important to note that while SB 1493 denied the State the power ever again to define churches as charitable trusts, it did not apply to pending cases like the State v. The Worldwide Church of God. The State had simply lost its taste for battle.

Why did the State of California rip up the Constitution and topple the WCG in the first place? While the people of the United States have a fair record of religious tolerance, the governments of the United States have a brutal history of persecution of minority religions, be they Mormon, Catholic, or Moonie. Displays of intense loyalty and belief by people of minority religions seems to promote in outsiders what theologian Harvey Cox calls the "myth of the 'evil eye'"—the belief that any such odd loyalty constitutes insanity, and that we, the sane, must marshall the State to save these deluded souls from themselves. In a way, the State's attack on the WCG was only business as usual.

It might be argued that it was not the oddness of the WCG, but the Church's public announcement of a $5 million deficit in 1978 which alerted the State to the possibility of Church wrongdoing. It might be argued that Stanley Rader's high salary ($225,000 plus perks), and the expenses incurred in jetting Armstrong and Rader, arms filled with gifts of Steuben glass, around the world to meet with presidents, kings, and generals and throw parties for them would strike anyone as wasteful. And Herbert W. Armstrong's age at the time of the *coup,* 86 years, might imply to some that the WCG was headed by a senile incompetent. But a $5 million deficit in an $80 million corporation is not a crime. High salaries, perks, and lavish spending are not in themselves criminal. And age does not equal senility and incompetence. The Church's financial affairs were open to the State—no receivership was needed when the Internal Revenue Service requested a look at the WCG's books or to get the WCG to file its annual returns with the State Franchise Tax Board.

And even if Armstrong, Rader, and others *had* been pilfering Church assets (and there is no evidence whatsoever that they were), the State *already* had broad powers to bring the guilty to justice without imposing receivership. The State can investigate, call grand juries, subpoena witnesses and records, all under accepted rules of procedure. The WCG recognizes that the free exercise of religion clause of the First Amendment does not shield it from criminal prosecution. But the WCG was not resisting criminal prosecution. It was resisting a takeover.

Think of the odds the Church faced as it struggled to keep the wall between Church and State intact. The Church had nothing to hide but much to protect. After surviving the potential knockout-punch of receivership, the Church had to establish its innocence in order to throw off the yoke of the receiver. This is contrary to our legal principles which oblige the State to prove guilt. Accused of theft, but denied due process, the Church refused to surrender its constitutional rights. And to defy the State implies guilt to impressionable minds.

But the State acted on suspicion, not evidence. The reputation of the Church and its leaders was blackened, its credit was destroyed, its members suffered psychological battering, and its growth was retarded. Greedy receivers helped themselves to the Church treasury, billing in excess of $150 an hour for their "services." If computed on an annual basis, the salaries of the receivers exceeded those of Armstrong and Rader, the very executives accused of abusing their power and plundering the Church. The State seized records that had nothing to do with finance, such as privileged lawyer-client and priest-penitent documents, as well as membership and tithing lists.

Rader's most ominous accusation is that the goal of the Attorney General was to establish the State's right to regulate religion just as the Public Utilities Commission regulates utilities. As overseer of the "charitable trust" religions, the Attorney General could reserve the right to decide what was proper use of church money. The State wished, according to Rader, to divide the ecclesiastical affairs of churches from the financial affairs of churches and decide exactly where the dividing line would be drawn, pretending all the while that no religious liberties were being violated. Yet, as Sharon L. Worthing writes in *The Uneasy Boundary: Church and State* (The Annals of the AAPSS, 1979), "...since most religious worship is corporate, not purely private, the right of free exercise means very little if it does not include the right to form appropriate institutions or organizations to conduct religious activities."

There can be no denying that political rights dissolve into nothing in the absence of economic rights. Without the rights to property and the fruits of one's own labor, the political rights of freedom of press, speech, and assembly vanish —for individuals as well as corporate organizations. And so the corollary: economic rights precede the political right of freedom of religion. The pursuit of the sacred takes many forms. The Catholics build cathedrals in which to worship. The members of the Worldwide Church rent school-gymnasiums or meeting halls in which to worship, reserving their capital for other expressions of what they consider to be God's will. One religion might emphasize the importance of proper education, another, dietary laws or pilgrimage. When the State intervenes in the financial affairs of these voluntary associations it becomes the arbiter of what path the pursuit of the sacred will take. And then state religion is just around the corner. ❑

The author is a Los Angeles-based Jack-of-all-trades and freelance writer. With this issue, he joins the *LR* masthead as a contributing editor.

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By the time you read this ad, this appliance could be banned.

It seems incredible, but there are laws pending which would try to make the MAXIMIZER™ automatic cooker the first banned home appliance in the country.

It's not what the MAXIMIZER™ automatic cooker does that has both sides after it. It's what else it does. We sell it as a versatile timed cycle automatic cooker that MAXIMIZES vitamin content by cooking gently with steam. It also does rice with warm heat, and is perfect for one or two person families. That's what it does.

WHAT ELSE IT DOES

Word has gotten about that this little wonder will also MAXIMIZE™ the quality of alternate smoking mixtures, loose or rolled. Very noticibly, or you can invoke our moneyback guarantee. We're not paraphernalia people, we're appliance people. We just happen to have a dual-nature appliance here, and we've sold over 8,000 to very happy customers. It's the only cooker that provides the munchies, too. Indeed, is **guaranteed** to.

PUT THAT BY US AGAIN, PLEASE?

In 1970, researchers at the Federal Marijuana Farm discovered a process that would free 98% of the THC from its original inactive state. Patents were applied for by the Cannabis Institute in 1971. And this year, the Institute made the process available to Universal Organics, the people making the cooker. It only took about $60,000 worth of engineering to make a good cooker do something else, too. Although we don't advocate or suggest anything like that.

SO WHO WANTS IT BANNED?

There has been a revival of the anti-marijuana scares of ten years ago by a few political pressure groups hungry for issues. They are running laws through that are worse than you're probably aware of. The Cannabis Institute is gearing up now to fight for the rights of the American public to know the truth about marijuana, from honest research rather than the *Reader's Digest*. That's why they decided to raise some money with their patents. And it's nice to know that's where your money is going.

Buy one today. It pays for itself the first time you stretch an ounce by cooking it the right way. Get the renegade appliance with the money-back guarantee. Get it while you can.

UNIVERSAL ORGANICS
Dept. 17, Box 748,
Cambridge, MA 02139

Rush me _____ MAXIMIZERS @ $29.95 (plus $1.25 packing and shipping for each).
Massachusetts residents add 5% sales tax.

☐ Send more information on
☐ Cooking ☐ Activation

☐ Send a copy of the Federal Farm research study (75¢).

Name _____
Address _____
State and Zip _____

☐ I am 18 or older
☐ Master Charge
☐ Visa

Card # _____
Expiration Date _____
Signature _____

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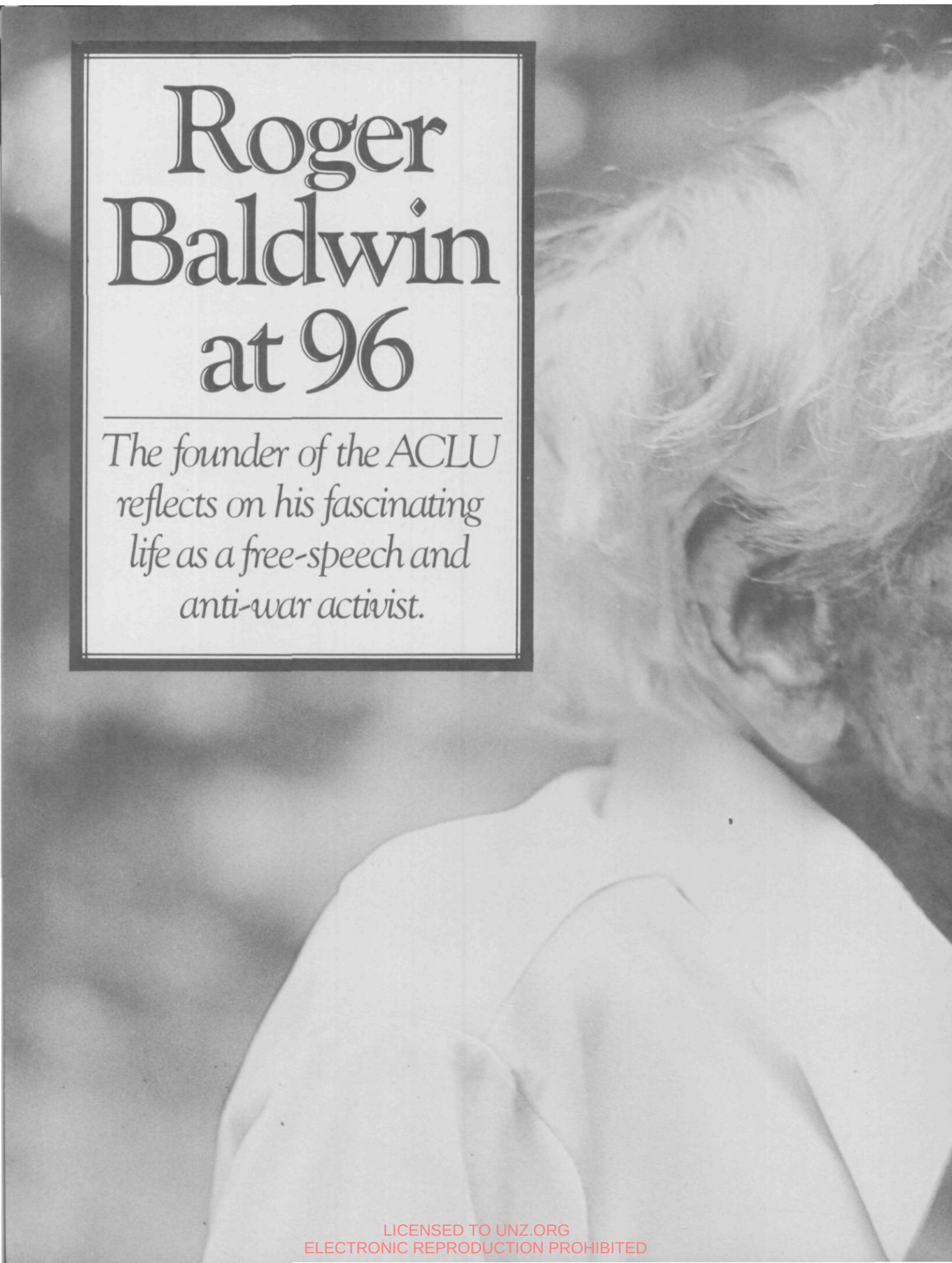
Roger Baldwin at 96

The founder of the ACLU reflects on his fascinating life as a free-speech and anti-war activist.



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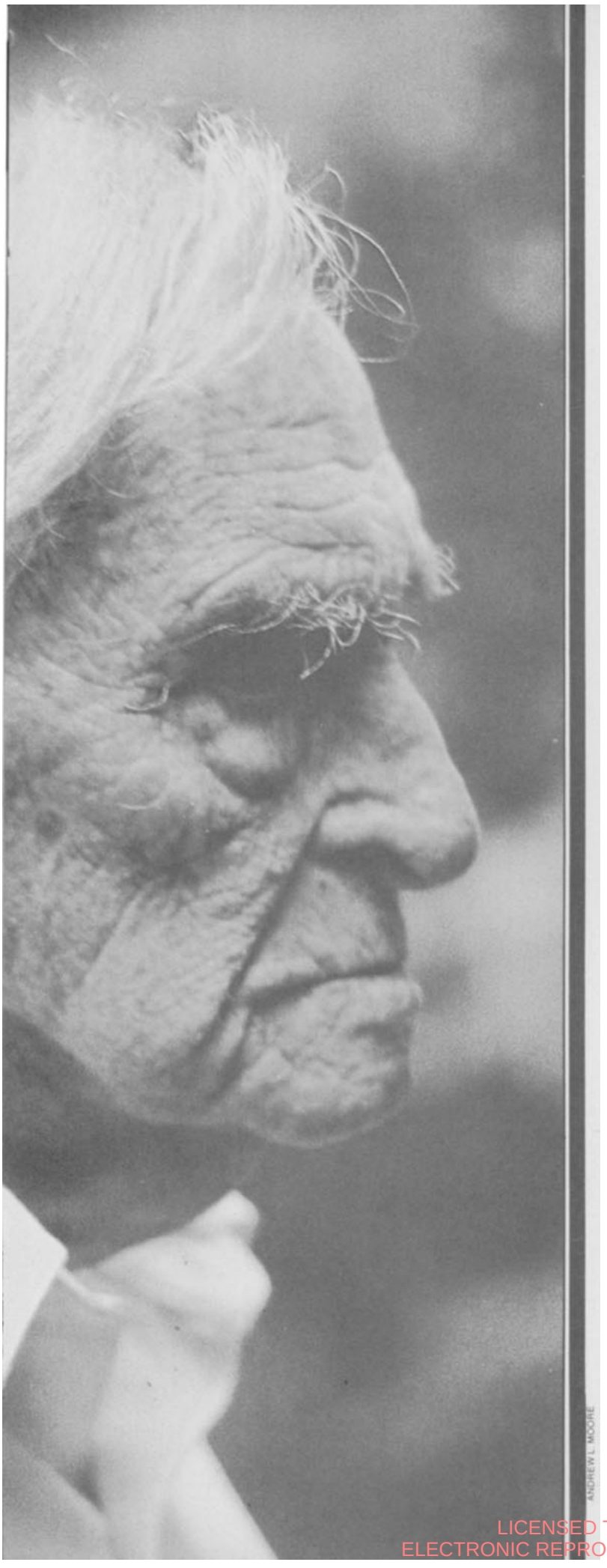

ANDREW L. MOORE

AN LR INTERVIEW

Those of us who care about civil liberties may sometimes take it for granted that our Constitution contains valuable restraints on government power. But it is only in the last 60 years, since the anti-war movement during World War I, that the Supreme Court has even been asked to rule on questions like freedom of speech and conscription — and its earliest rulings took for granted the supremacy of government power over individual rights.

In point of fact, today's robust civil liberties movement is largely the outgrowth of the early activity of one man, Roger Baldwin. During his lifetime, Baldwin has seen both the growth of government and the growth of an awareness of the importance of limiting government. The very term civil liberties was first used in this country in 1917, in naming the National Civil Liberties Bureau, founded by Baldwin and others to fight for freedom of speech and against the draft. Baldwin was vilified, his telephone was tapped, the offices of the National Civil Liberties Bureau were raided and searched at gun point by federal agents, and Baldwin himself went to jail—for a year as a conscientious objector—on the day the war ended. In 1920, the National Civil Liberties Bureau officially became the American Civil Liberties Union.

When New York freelancer Peter Donald, who is working on a biography of Roger Baldwin, told us that Baldwin would be willing to be interviewed for *The Libertarian Review* ("I didn't think they'd be interested in me," he said), we were delighted. It is not everyday that we get the chance to speak with someone who has changed society in the direction of freedom, and we were fascinated by the similarities and differences between our outlook and his. The only label that Baldwin will accept for himself is *pacifist,* for instance. So we asked Peter Donald to do the interview.

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LR: Could you talk about the various sources of your ideas? What were the main influences on you during your childhood in New England?

Baldwin: I realized in my suburban town outside of Boston, in my early teens, that there were people in town who had views different from the majority. They were odd people who had certain distinctions, some of them nationally famous. I sought them out. I had an instinct for the odd, the unusual, the unconventional. And these were people who reflected old New England values, who were abolitionists, whose ancestors had been participants in the Revolution—these were people with public spirit and with an interest in public affairs. And they had what might be called libertarian views in the sense that they were committed to the basic principles of human liberty, of personal freedom, of democracy, and of resistance to authority. Their concept of the state was a free state that served people but did not oppress them. They were resistant to repression of any kind, most conspicuously, of course, to slavery.

I don't remember any incidents which aroused me when I was growing up in our community. There were no race riots; there were no political riots. It was a very orderly community. But the acceptance of these basic principles of personal freedom, and of the role of government as a protector of that freedom, impressed me when I was very young.

And when I got to Harvard College after graduating from the local high school, I at once, or fairly quickly, anyhow, sought out the people in Phillips Brooks House, which was the religious center, the people who had ideas of political and social freedom. I got involved then in what you would call social work, with students and with institutions in Boston and Cambridge which were serving the interests of disadvantaged people. And that all seemed to me part of the same tradition. It was a tradition of help, of self help and helping others, which squared with the notion of independent personal action not assisted by the state in any way.

I didn't meet the state very often. I met the state very little, as a matter of fact. And I wasn't aware of it as a force in life or the lives of people around me until it came to the larger questions of war and peace and the conflict between capital and labor. I heard about big strikes near our community, and of efforts by the government to discourage workers from organizing trade unions. But I don't think I was particularly gripped by that, then. I was later. I had a very strong pro-labor, trade-union bias later, but not then. There was an atmosphere at Harvard, a general atmosphere of tolerance of diverse views, a tolerance of dissent—and some radical views about changes in the basis of society, but I didn't take to them. I remained committed to the essential system under which we lived, capitalism, with a desire of course to change it and soften it and to diminish the impulses of selfishness and greed. The general principle of freedom for people to do what they wanted to do without interference by the authorities was accepted. It was the common assumption.

LR: You graduated from Harvard in 1905 and went to St. Louis for the next ten years. Why did you go? How does that decision fit into the eventual course of your career?

Baldwin: My philosophy and attitude when I took a job in social work and university teaching in St. Louis was not very different from what I'd always assumed to be the American way: the concept of freedom and of voluntary organization and private organization doing as much as it could to organize social relations without state help. I was always in private organizations in St. Louis, except in one case when I became a probation officer for the children's court—the juvenile court—and remained in that post for three years. In that capacity, I exercised some of the functions of the state, myself.

Except for that one experience, all of my contact was with social agencies of a private character. What I'm trying to indicate is that the atmosphere around me was non-governmental. The government was something that, at that time, anyhow, was not a protector of people's interests. It was not the welfare state; that was a long time in coming. You know, when I taught sociology at Washington University, I don't think the power of the state, of the social regulations which the state represented and enforced, was really evident to me.

LR: So as time went on in St. Louis, you began to question the role that the state should play, how much power it should actually have, and began to question the legitimacy of the state?

Baldwin: Right. But that was aside from the immediate issues around me. That was a personal search for some kind of vision of the future. I looked into socialism and the local people who espoused socialism, and I read some socialist literature, but I didn't see much that was helpful in that direction because it seemed to indicate powerful force in government, with the government owning everything—industry as well as the armed forces, all the means of production and distribution. And I rejected it. I never voted the Socialist ticket. I felt friendly to the *ideals* of democratic socialism, but I didn't see any way of bringing them about, especially by making government more powerful.

And then I found, rather by accident—through Emma Goldman, who came to town to lecture—I found a whole literature of freedom and a network (I must call it that, because it wasn't an organization) of historic and recurrent characters who represented in a different way from socialism—some of them called themselves anarchists and some called themselves libertarians, and they were very few, they were only a small number of voices—the aspirations of the past in various countries. They embraced Walt Whitman in the United States, and Thoreau. People of literary character, not politicians.

LR: Isn't it ironic that in your search for answers you were eventually brought back to people from your very background, from New England? You meet someone like Emma Goldman, a foreigner, and she steers you back to American thinkers like Thoreau and Emerson. This is something that Americans have had trouble understanding, viewing anarchism as an entirely foreign phenomenon, ignoring a strong libertarian tradition within our own borders that was related to anarchist thought.

Baldwin: Emma Goldman, being a Russian and having come to the United States as an immigrant, had European roots. Most of the people from whom she had learned were Europeans, some of the great playwrights like Ibsen, and Russian writers like Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy—Kropotkin especially. And I was introduced to their literature as well as to the literature in this country which she embraced. She accepted Thoreau and Emerson as exponents of a libertarian view of society, and the publication which she ran for a few years, *Mother Earth,* quoted them often.

Emma Goldman herself was a very broad-minded woman, never a dogmatist, who would accept all evidence of principle leading to a freer society. Always she talked about freedom, freedom in a very practical sense, because she was a contemporary participant in struggles for freedom for the

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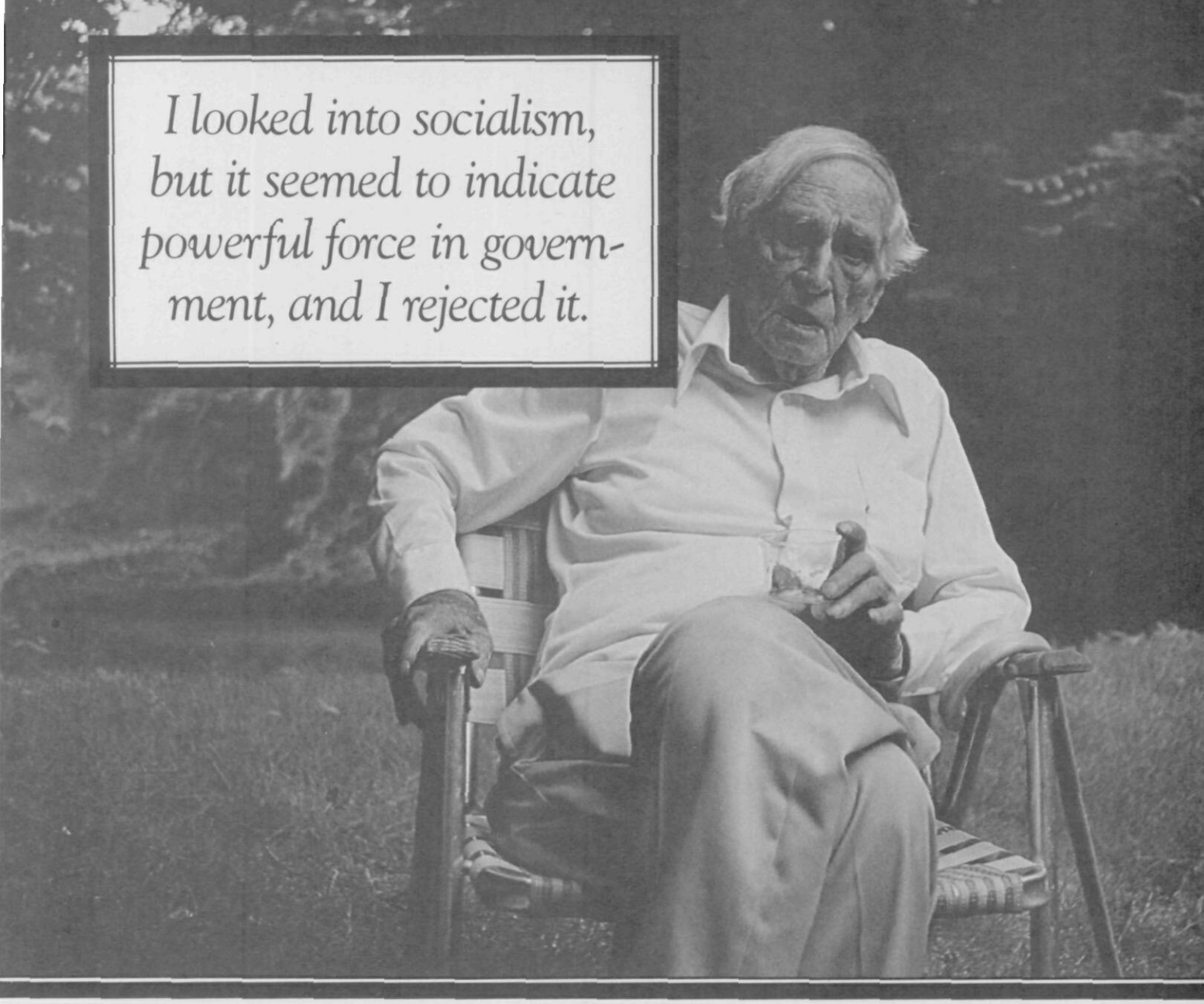

working class, and she was regarded by the foreign working class here as a spokesman for a very influential section of the trade union movement which was more libertarian than it was socialist—although the dominant influences in the trade union movement were socialist.

I knew her from the time she first arrived in St. Louis on a lecture tour until the time she died, many years later. I kept in touch with her. We corresponded, wherever she was—in Europe, Russia, and in the last years in Canada. We had different ideas, because I came around, at one point anyhow, to accepting the welfare state, and I thought the Communist state was, in its early origins, very hopeful for the emancipation of people from the evils of the capitalist system. But then, of course, I discovered—after Emma discovered it—that the state itself was by nature oppressive, and the Communist state became even more oppressive than the Western capitalist states or the feudal states. It could not realize its ideas because of its powers. Once it got power, it insisted on holding it, and power was exercised primarily by the same instruments that had exercised it before; namely, the police, the courts, the prisons. On purely political grounds, too. Any opposition was treated as if it were criminal.

But Emma Goldman herself was not the rabble rouser she was supposed to be. She was a motherly, quiet, and very sensible woman, who got her bad reputation from her association in the early days with events which shocked people, like the assassination of McKinley by a man who said he was influenced by her lectures to do what he did. And her close friend Alexander Berkman tried to shoot Mr. [Henry Clay] Frick, the head of a big corporation. He missed, but he spent a long time in prison for it. And she stuck to him when he got out, just as she had beforehand. That gave her a very bad reputation.

LR: Was she bitter about her reputation?

Baldwin: *I wouldn't say she was bitter. She was defiant.* People didn't realize how compassionate and motherly she really was. When she was on the lecture platform she gave *the impression of someone who was greatly concerned with* what was going on and the direction things were taking. She was defiant of the existing system—she didn't have a good word for it. Hardly a word.

LR: You've told me that you became dissatisfied with social work as "do-gooding." Was this because of Emma *Goldman's influence?*

Baldwin: Well I wouldn't say that even Emma Goldman

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was above doing good, in the sense that she would serve people's needs. She was a trained nurse, and as such of course she had to serve people's needs. But the general social work system I think she regarded as a concession that people made to capitalism. In other words, they were trying to amend the evils of capitalism through social work. It's not a correct description of what they actually were doing because they were doing what the welfare state has taken over now, on a much larger scale. But the attitude was "we fortunate people help you unfortunate people." There was a condescension in it. And she rejected that and I finally came to reject it.

LR: You left St. Louis and went to New York in 1917. This was because of the immediate threat of war. Can you describe your early activity in the anti-war movement?

Baldwin: I went to help a movement of very prominent reformers against the war. It couldn't be said that they had enough influence to stop anything, but they were a voice opposed to American entry into the war, and a voice for conciliation and for a war settlement, using the United States as a neutral influence among the belligerents. That was the hope. But we very soon found out, as soon as the war was declared, that we couldn't work along that line. So we turned to the defense of people who were prosecuted or arrested or were conscientious objectors to war, and thus we became an organization that made defense of our American principles of freedom our primary objective, the First Amendment principles of the Constitution and the traditions of our colonial leaders.

LR: You are speaking of the founding of the Civil Liberties Bureau, aren't you? Could you tell us a little more about it?

Baldwin: The National Civil Liberties Bureau in the First World War was the first organized effort to extend the protection of the Bill of Rights to everybody, indiscriminately; not to confine it to some particular cause or group of people. Before then, various movements organized for particular objectives had cropped up and died down—in defense of women's rights, or trade-union rights, or to end slavery. But this was the first with a general objective and I was, I guess, the originator of the movement. Because it was necessary, not because I had any idea that it was novel at all. It became evident that people, not only pacifists in the First World War, but others, too—trade unionists, Socialists—needed defense lawyers. And the idea was to get lawyers to enlist for this defense, or any other defense—to put themselves on a list as volunteers. So the Bureau started.

We were very fortunately located in Washington and New York. In Washington, we had close access to the government, even had a few friends in Congress who were opponents of the war. And in New York there was a very strong anti-war feeling, especially among the foreign population—the Irish and German population—and it had some friendly papers. In Washington, although the policies were tough and public opinion was adamant in its opposition to opponents of the war we nevertheless functioned, and we had enough money and members and activity to keep us encouraged.

The philosophy behind it was not only the Bill of Rights and our appeal to the courts in terms of freedom of conscience and of religion for the conscientious objector—and freedom of speech and association and the press for the opponents of war—but it was also a philosophy of of individual liberty. Because the Bill of Rights was based upon the concept that in a democracy the people make the government, and therefore the government is the servant of the people. A lot of governments, our own included, have at times acted as if the government was the boss and the people its servants. We took the other view, not only the view of the Constitution, but the view of libertarians generally, that the role of government is to serve the people; the role of government is not to be oppressive. And therefore the Civil Liberties Bureau was dedicated to the underlying philosophy of the government as the servant of the people, with acceptance, of course, of the role of the courts as the interpreter. And that has been our role ever since: to appeal to the courts for an interpretation of where the government's authority ends and the people's authority begins. That is essentially the compromise that you have to make in order to keep society together.

LR: So what you have done, through the ACLU and before that through the National Civil Liberties Bureau, is to apply principles as best you could, with as little compromise as possible, to correct very specific abuses of the individual by the state, pretty much on a case by case basis. Is that accurate?

Baldwin: Yes. But there are always compromises. That's what the courts are for. Take the advocacy of violence, for instance—the immediate advocacy of violence, where the threat of it is so acute as to be hardly separable from the violence itself. If you say, "Go and shoot that son of a bitch," and someone starts doing it, you cannot excuse that on the grounds that it's free speech.

LR: But In World War I, you didn't compromise. You became a conscientious objector.

Baldwin: Well, I was one all along. But yes, when I was called for military service, I refused. I was opposed to any kind of conscription, and I still am. I don't think the state as an institution should have the moral right to order its citizens to kill others.

LR: Do you think that Americans owe anything to their country in terms of some kind of service? What about non-military duty?

Baldwin: No, I don't think we owe anything.

LR: In your mind is conscription a form of slavery?

Baldwin: Well, conscription is the power of the government to take a man out of his occupation and his home and send him abroad, in defense of the country, as they say. And not just in defense of his country, but to send him abroad in any war that the administration engages in, to risk his life for whatever cause the government tells him he must risk it for. And he has no choice. It's the ultimate power that the government can exercise over your life. Of course, making war against another nation is the *ultimate* expression of state power, because there you are attacking a whole nation, a whole people. But in relation to your own people, conscription is the ultimate power. It takes you away from your home and your business. It makes you perform a service to which you might have very profound objections. Yes, it's a form of slavery to be completely in the power of the government, and we've always objected to it on that ground. We tried to object in the very first month of the war and carried a case to the United States Supreme Court on the grounds that conscription was unconstitutional. We lost it.

LR: The only contemporary political party that believes you should have won is the Libertarian Party. What do you think of it?

Baldwin: From what I know of the Libertarian Party, its principles conform to the concepts that I've always associated with libertarianism, but it has elements in it, as I under-

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stand it, that have more dubious purposes. They have the desire to be relieved of a lot of government regulation, a desire to be free of government interference, and they therefore have some doctrines which for me have little practical reality, like no taxation. You have to have some kind of taxation in order to live in a community.

But the Libertarians are a very refreshing innovation in our political life, because they've produced a new principle and a new attitude to government.

LR: What you object to is their economic position?

Baldwin: I'm not objecting. I only say that the practical program which they have adopted cannot work in a society like ours. They can't abolish the tax system. You can't abolish every kind of regulation to keep the peace. I'm not familiar with all of their platform, but I know the general direction.

LR: Tell us what "civil liberties" means to you, and also "libertarianism."

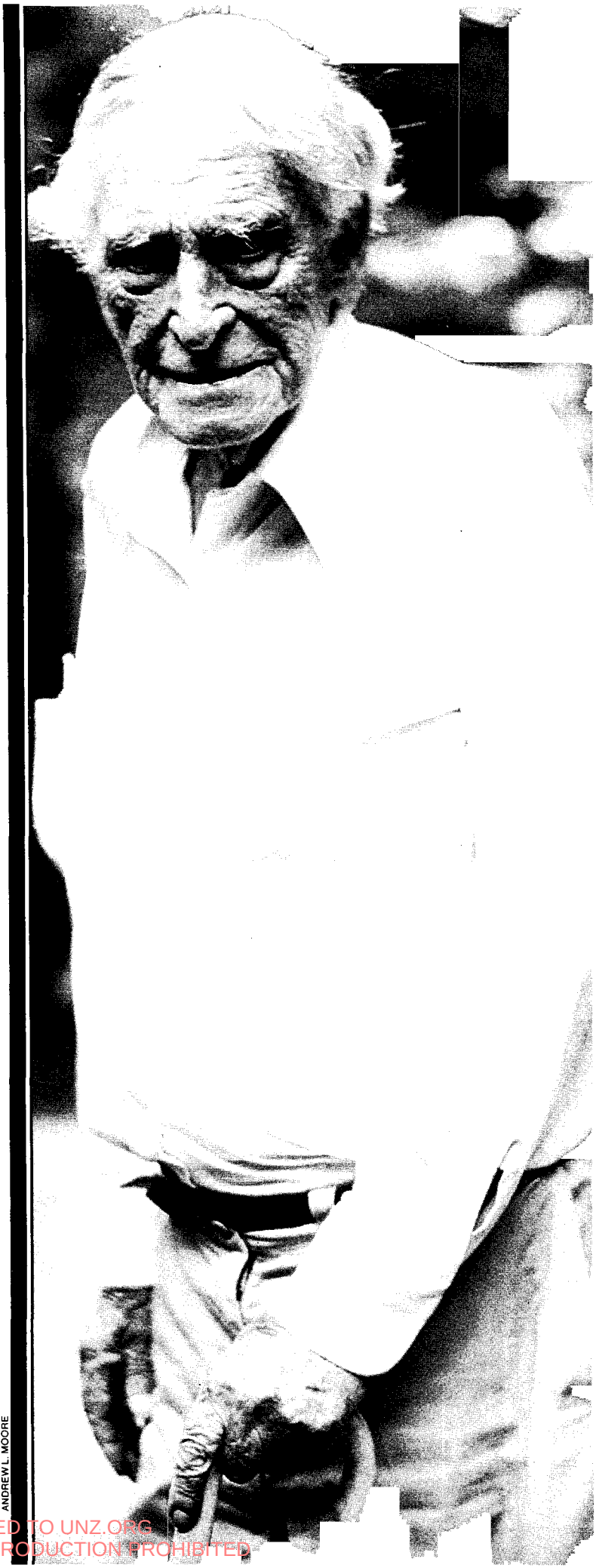
Baldwin: "Civil liberties," as expressed in the Constitution, is a reflection of natural rights, and natural rights are the rights that people are born with. The right of speech, and of association, and of conscience as a guide to what's right and what's wrong, a sense of justice. Those are civil liberties. And they have a basis in the nature of man and not in the nature of constitutions. and I think that, since that's so, they will last forever. As long as there are people, there will be the same demands.

Libertarianism? Well, that reflects the same origin. And I would think that that is the embodiment of an outlook on human institutions. But to have an influence in determining their character, there will have to be compromises. All social institutions are compromises. And libertarianism as a doctrine would have to compromise in order to meet the necessities of social life. It has always compromised. In all movements you have to have the prophets and the preachers who give you the doctrines, and then you have to have the leaders and the practical men who apply them. And when they apply them, you always compromise something or other in order to make it work. I can't conceive of any libertarian society that could fully put into effect and practice the principles it espouses without some compromise. There is always some point beyond which you can't go.

LR: When you look at what's happening in the world now, what kind of advice can you give a young person?

Baldwin: Well, I can't give any advice about what to *do*, because each person has to figure that out according to his talents and instincts and ambitions. The way you're going to think is something else. I think you have a right, even in the face of the kind of a world we've got (which is a world of power and fear), you have a right to hope. There is simply no other way, except through peace, by which the nations and peoples of the world can get along, and I think it's justified therefore to have faith in the ultimate triumph—and it's not too far off either—of sense, the common sense of people.

Peaceful relations are the only answer. And world order, a one-world order, is necessary to human survival. For instance, nations are the great obstacle to peace, and we've got to get rid of nations some day and have just peoples related to each other, and a world order in which they can be represented in various institutions. I think it's possible that out of the present dangers and conflicts, within say fifty years, we will have to develop an alternative to the arms and fear of the present time—where order isn't based on who has the most guns. ❑



ANDREW L. MOORE

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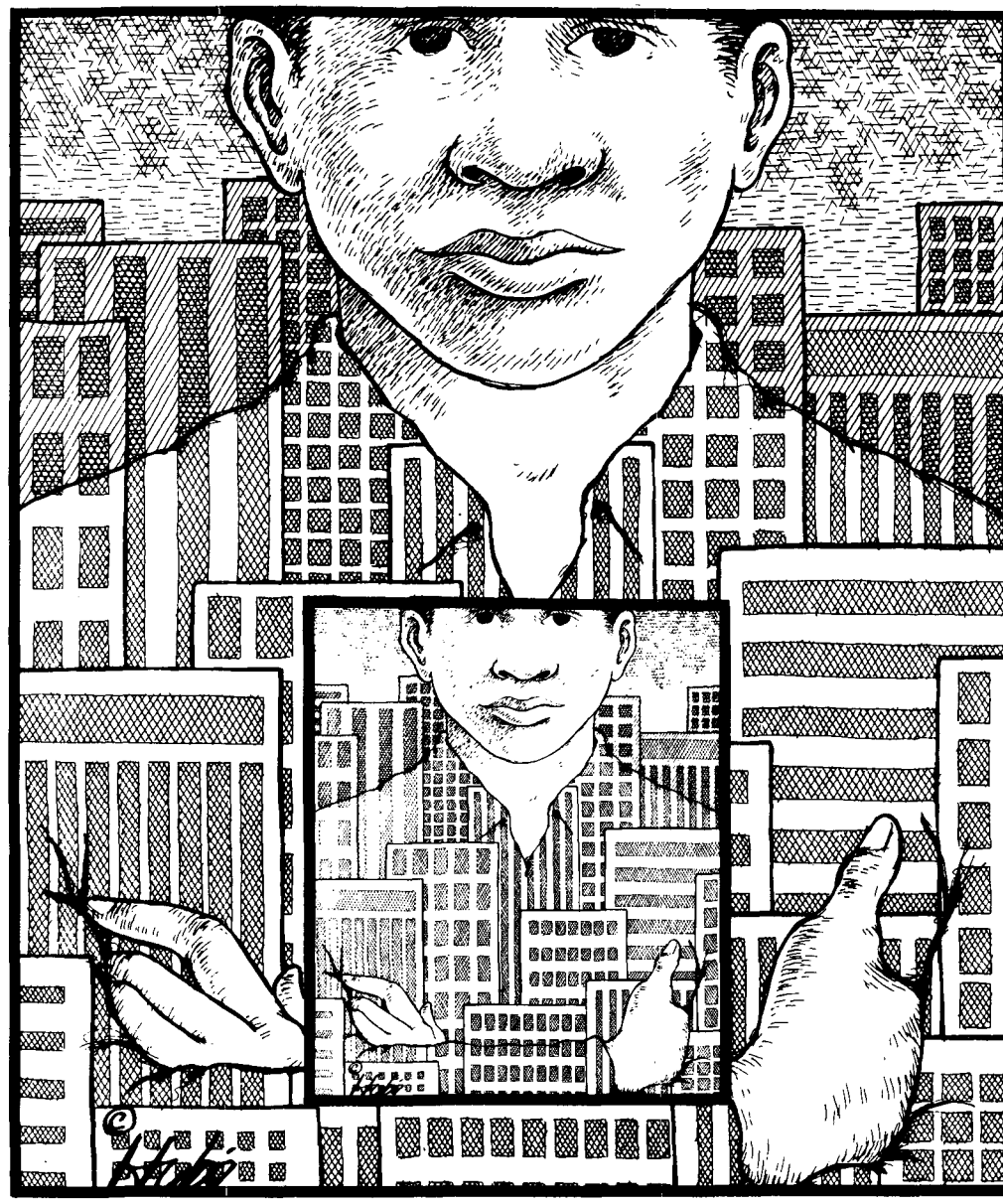
BOOKS AND ARTS



Scaling down

JOHN SHEPHERD

Human Scale, *by Kirkpatrick Sale. Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, 558 pp., $15.95.*

TRY THIS QUIZ. MATCH the following three quotations with the authors and books listed below.

(1) "...the absence of government does not lead to bewilderment and confusion and disorder as might be imagined if all of government's claims for itself were true, but rather to resurgence of locally based forms...."

(2) "...the state makes itself necessary by destroying the other organizations that were supplying public services to the citizenry before it came along."

(3) "Economic and social misery increases in direct proportion to the size and power of the central government of a nation or state."

(A) Ed Clark, *A New Beginning.*

(B) Murray N. Rothbard, *For a New Liberty.*

(C) Kirkpatrick Sale, *Human Scale.*

If you matched (C), Kirkpatrick Sale, *Human Scale*, to all of the statements, you answered correctly — but probably only because you know this is a book review and guessed the trick behind the quiz. If you matched Ed Clark or Murray Rothbard to any of the statements, you answered incorrectly — but plausibly enough, because either of these authors might have dropped these statements in their books. Similarly, either Clark or Rothbard might have constructed the arguments Sale offers for such propositions as the following: that slums like the South Bronx are created by government interventions in the banking and building businesses, by government welfare policies, and by rent control; that the giant corporations have been built for the most part on government largesse; that, generally speaking, the state is the cause of the problems we ask it to cure.

But this is not to say that

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Sale has learned his ideas from the popularizers of modern libertarian thought. He has not. He has learned them from a list of intellectual precursors—Illich, Calhoun, the Goodman brothers, Spooner, Jefferson, Thoreau, Paine, Proudhon, and Warren—which would map neatly onto the corresponding lists of the other authors in the quiz. And no reader of *The Libertarian Review* could fail to recognize in his statements that unique fusion of left wing and right wing political thought that is libertarianism.

But Sale does not advertise *Human Scale* as a libertarian book, and to the best of my memory he uses the word "libertarianism" only once, and then merely as the opposite of "authoritarianism." In this respect *Human Scale* is similar to James Dale Davidson's *The Squeeze,* which also doesn't advertise itself as libertarian. Perhaps such authors delete the word "libertarian" from their copy because their books are directed at a mass market in which libertarian ideas and principles are once again becoming *mainstream.*

Ironically, being in the mainstream can be either a blessing or a curse. The deeps of the mainstream flow faster and carry the message farther than do the shallows of the fringe from which libertarianism has moved in the last decade. At the same time, mainstream movements are subject to powerful scrutiny and plain bias. Let's face it: libertarianism is becoming trendy, and we all know what can happen to trends. So when an old warrior of the new left like Kirkpatrick Sale, author of *SDS* and *Power Shift* and contributor to the leftist muckraking journal *Mother Jones,* writes a book teeming with libertarian sentiments, he must remember that his readership's bias associates the word libertarian with baby-selling, greedy capitalists, free-market heroin, prostitution, and gold hoarding and if he displays the word prominently his readers are likely to pass his book by. But for those *LR* readers who are not put off by labels, it is safe to say that *Human Scale* is libertarian, individualist, anti-state, communitarian, voluntarist, and dedicated to the small-is-beautiful economic philosophy.

Sale contends that it is the mistaken belief that bigger is better which has led us to today's hell of giantism in society, economy, and polity. Like the main character in the movie, *The Incredible Shrinking Man,* we are being dwarfed by our architecture, but not because we are shrinking, rather, because it has grown too large to integrate the human form. We are schooled in the empire of modern education which exists to count bodies and distribute paychecks. Wholesale government intervention into the economy has resulted in still-expanding mammoth corporations that are insulated from competition via bailouts, tariffs, and subsidies, corporations which operate out of human-spirit shattering superfactories of arguable efficiency. And political systems have grown so big and distant that the incredible shrinking man increasingly casts his vote of disgust by staying home on election day.

Unlike most leftists, Sale promotes no government programs and sees no Armageddon if the state is rolled back.

The traditional government-corporate alliance seeks to lead us away from giantism's abyss of pollution, resource depletion, crime, and alienation by means of what Sale calls *technofix.* A technofix is another application of the same high-technology solutions that got us in trouble in the first place. Sale wants us to reject the cult of bigness and return to the human form itself as the measure by which we design our buildings, schools, companies, and communities. Just as the human form can grow only so large before the engineering limitations of bone and muscle turn the human giant into a cripple, Sale argues, so too is there an optimum size for everything else: communities, buildings, schools, farms. And usually that optimum size is smaller than what the government-corporate alliance has directed us to build.

The way out of the abyss lies not in more technofixes, writes Sale, but in the opposite direction: "toward the decentralization of institutions and the devolution of power, with the slow dismantling of all the large-scale systems that one way or another have created or perpetuated the current crises, and their replacement by smaller, more controllable, more efficient, people-sized units, rooted in local circumstances and guided by local citizens. In short, the *human scale* alternative."

But what is human scale? The term comes from architecture and at best is a cheater stick of average human dimensions that helps designers decide at what height to put doorknobs, how steep to build stairways, and how to shape chairs and bathtubs to satisfy the majority of us. Unfortunately, the averaging that results in the designer's human scale is strongly weighted in favor of right-handers over leftys, adults over children, and average-sized people over the Tom Thumbs and Wilt Chamberlains of the world. Tom and Wilt are as human as we are, but they wouldn't be comfortable in a house built for us; nor would we be comfortable in houses custom-built for them.

But if the quest for human scale proves illusory in architecture, it proves impossible in our other endeavors. How can one determine *a priori* what the optimum size for an institution, building, community, or economy would be? For example, what is the optimum size for an airplane? The Boeing 747 is quieter, more comfortable, and more fuel efficient than the earlier, smaller Boeing 707, but now Boeing is building a new series of aircraft, the 757 and 767, sized between the 747 and 707 which are the most quiet, comfortable, and fuel efficient aircraft ever built. There is no permanent answer to the question of optimum size for *anything* because technology, economy, and tastes constantly change.

E.F. Schumacher notwithstanding, small doesn't have a stranglehold on beauty. Both small and big systems can generate both beauty and ugliness. Sale would do well to take the advice of the social planner Rufus Miles, whom he quotes as saying, "No human designers can know or comprehend all the factors that need to be taken into account, and their interrelation, sufficiently to make the current set of systems work well." The same would apply to any future human-scale alternative.

As F.A. Hayek demonstrated long ago, it is the price system that converges all the divergent information we need to judge what economic course to take. The closest we will ever come to discovering the optimum size for airplanes will be the

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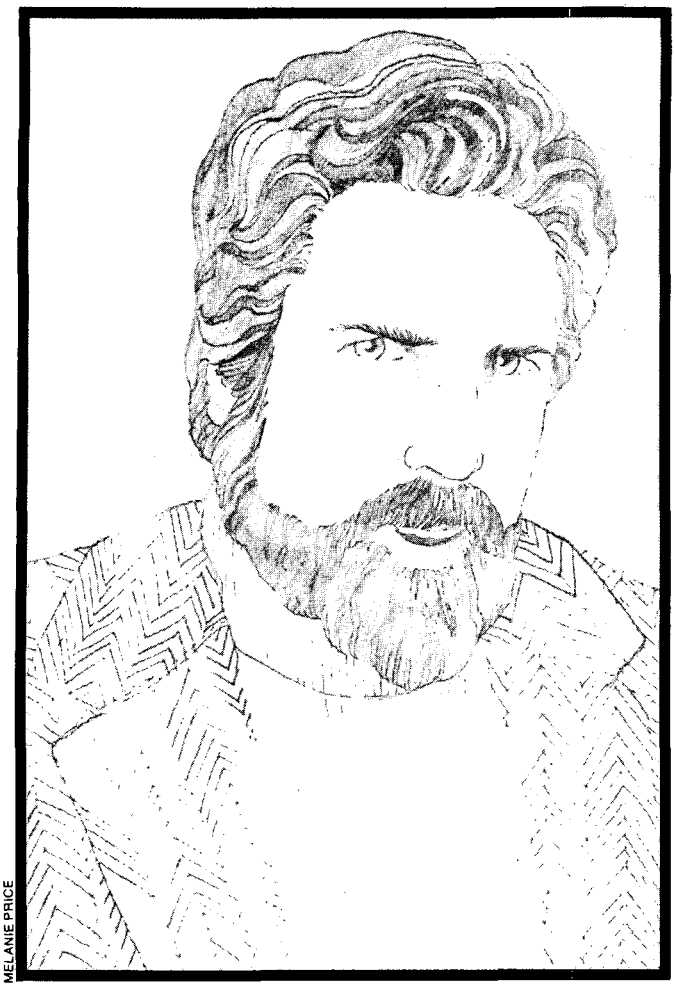

MELANIE PRICE

Kirkpatrick Sale's three previous books are: Power Shift *(1975),* SDS *(1973), and* The Land and the People of Ghana *(1963).*

test of the market, and even then there will be disagreement; witness Boeing's competitors, Lockheed, McDonnell-Douglas, and Airbus.

On the other hand, Sale excels at documenting how the state creates troublesome gargantuans. Consolidated Edison's New York City power blackout of 1977 is a perfect example of state inspired giantism run amok. As Sale writes,

> The lessons from this night would seem to have been obvious. You cannot *design* such a large system as Con Ed's for infallibility, since that requires too great a need for technical perfection. You cannot *build* such a large system to work, continuously and indefinitely, without fail. You cannot *operate* such a large system without mistakes and the intervention of the unforeseen. You cannot *protect* such a large system from breakdowns and a multitude of human and mechanical errors. And you cannot *repair* and restart such a large system before serious damage has been done. The very size of the system magnifies all of the dangers.

This in a nutshell is Sale's critique of Leviathan, whether it be the Leviathan of power generation, health care, education, architecture, or transportation. All of them were designed by the ultimate Leviathan, the modern nation-state. And design mandated from above results in perpetual dislocation of market forces. Sale presents convincing evidence that smaller power-generating stations such as those that existed before the state created the utility monopolies could provide cheaper and more reliable service. While I think he minimizes the problems in alternative power schemes (the manufacture of solar cells creates pollution, even small hydroelectric plants alter local ecology, and windmills are notorious for throwing blades and inducing low-frequency noise pollution) it is clear from his analysis that energy Davids *could* undercut the Con-Ed Goliaths, just as the education, building, and manufacturing Davids could give the Goliaths a slingful of trouble if the state no longer protected *them* from competition.

Sale definitely identifies giantism with the rise of the powerful nation-state in the last two hundred years. These nation-states have shattered self-sufficient, harmonious, human-scale communities all around the world in their quest for power and authority. Today, Sale sees Americans voting for the human-scale alternative with their feet by abandoning the giantism and statism of the cities for the small towns of the sunbelt states where there is less government to contend with: fewer taxes, fewer laws, less police repression, more local control over schools, less pollution, and more communitarian values. Sale doesn't ignore the history of repressive social control associated with small towns but is confident that minorities and nonconformists can find communities in which they will thrive. He clearly wants the state out of our lives. Unlike most leftists, he promotes no new government programs and sees no social Armageddon in store if the state is rolled back. "Over time," he writes, "as the nation-state withdraws from this or that aspect of, say, health care or transportation or housing, localities will be forced to assume that burden, thus potentially enabling them to develop their full capacities and permitting the evolution of a stronger and more variegated society." Our potential fulfillment as human beings is actually increased by the withdrawal of the state; for our problems then become personal once again and we have a chance to control our futures.

But unlike libertarians, who are content to downsize the state and let the scale of our society be shaped by individual ambition, Sale wants to downsize *everything*. He'd like to see cars replaced by bicycles, energy-intensive agriculture by labor-intensive agriculture, bestsellers by small private presses, and most manufactured goods by home handcrafted goods. In short, Sale would like us to become like the Hutterites and Mennonites because it would be good for us, and besides, our fragile planet cannot endure continued industrial exploitation. But here he falls into an abyss of his own making. While he explicitly states that the way to the human-scale alternative is totally voluntary, I think, following Robert Nozick, that we can only expect 10 percent or so of any population to opt for the voluntary simplicity of kibbutzim-style living. And I am not convinced by Sale or any of the other limits-to-growth people that past exponential growth necessarily dictates future exponential growth all the way to economic breakdown. Technological advances and economic information are already flattening the exponential curves of growth into S curves in the areas of population and energy consumption. The alternative to the self-correcting free market is the steady-state economy which Sale embraces, warts and all. Doesn't he understand that to maintain the steady-state economy he would need a police state?

Sale pays substantial lip service to human diversity, but in his utopia he would sweep away bombs, guns, moon exploration, pollution, shoddy work, crime, and government regulation with the same purging hand that would sweep away

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spectator sports, drugs, gambling, prostitution, advertising, costume jewelry, and greeting cards. None of these things would make it inside the pearly gates of Humanscaleland. Someday someone will have to explain to Sale that spectator sports are just as valid as the ballet, or that drug taking is just as valid as meditation, or that gambling is just as valid as mountain climbing. As of now, Sale can see no important differences among these things—they are all bad things we can do without.

Perhaps this intolerance of human diversity is the true reason why Sale does not invoke the modern libertarian movement in his search for the solution to the morass of our times. You would think a book that charts the rise of food co-ops, holistic medicine, new schools, the consumer movement, Common Cause, feminism, naturalism, alternative religions, and the Campaign for Economic Democracy as evidence that there are new anti-state, self-reliant forces shaking the temples of empire would spend at least a paragraph on the tax revolt movement or the Libertarian Party. You might think a book which shadowboxes around the subject of anarchism but never drops that word either would find F.A. Hayek's ideas about Spontaneous Order worth mentioning. But no. In order to discuss the modern libertarian movement, Sale would have to introduce ideas about the profit-motive, the one thing he finds most symptomatic of the sickness of our society; and it is clear that outside of the psychic profit he expects his Spartan Athenians of Humanscaleland to reap, no other pursuit of profit, whether coin or capital, would be honored there.

So once again, what is human scale? Taken outside the confines of architecture and considered absolutely, the answer is that the true human scale is as boundless as our intellects. There are a multitude of ways to be human, and a successful human explores those ways that intrigue him. Sale's utopia is not likely to be yours. Not all humans will be satisfied with the bucolic harmony and richness of Hutterite-like communities. To fulfill *their* humanity they will build towers that will seem to the likes of Sale to be Towers of Babel. And Towers of Babel they may be, but there is no way outside of making mistakes that we can possibly learn that we are wrong. The exploration of alternatives is the true human scale.

But as the state continues to fracture and react under the stresses of its own gigantism more people *will* opt out of the system for the simplicity of the small town, be they new leftists like Kirkpatrick Sale or moral-majoritarian rightists like Howard Ruff. Imagine Howard Ruff's family in its single-family home, a stash of Krugerrands and freeze-dried food in the basement. Outside, Mrs. Ruff is putting the finishing touches on a Paint-by-Number as Howard drives up in a diesel-powered Rabbit, bringing the kids home from a day in Mormon school. Just down the street of this same small town, meanwhile, imagine the family Sale in a not dissimilar home, Kirkpatrick returning from the food co-op on his bicycle with canning jars for this year's bumper tomato crop. His kids are smoking homegrown behind the shed as Mrs. Sale finishes her daily yoga and returns to writing the Great American Community Novel.

It could happen. They could be peaceable neighbors.

John Shepherd is a freelance book reviewer, housepainter, and carpenter who has built more than a few structures to the requirements of human scale.

New York University's Professor Israel Kirzner has, in recent years, broken new ground in the theory of entrepreneurship.

Capitalism and entrepreneurship

JACK HIGH

Perception, Opportunity, and Profit, *by Israel Kirzner. University of Chicago, 274 pp., $15.00.*

TO CELEBRATE ITS FIFteenth anniversary last summer the widely read quarterly, *The Public Interest,* published a special issue devoted entirely to "The Crisis in Economic Theory." That step was an unusual one, if only because that journal has always been concerned primarily with public *policy,* rather than theory. Why, then, did it do it? The editors made their answer plain: "It is clear that, today, all discussions of economic policy do end up in controversies over economic theory, for it is theory which—explicitly or implicitly—shaped policy over the longer term."

For the next two hundred pages, twelve authors proceeded to wrestle with such topics as the dissolution of the Keynesian consensus, post-Keynesian economics, rational expectations, monetarism, general equilibrium theory, and Marxism.

In his essay "Rationalism in Economics," Irving Kristol concluded the volume with a sort of summing up. The neoclassical economic theory of the current day is inadequate, he asserted, and this has been most glaringly revealed in the policies which those theories have helped to produce over the past decade and a half. And leading the revolt against the dominant orthodoxy, Kristol noted, were three major

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dissenting movements: the "post-Keynesian" school, "radical humanistic" economics, and the "neo-Austrian" school.

It is fitting, therefore, that the special issue of *The Public Interest* also contained an essay by a leader of that Austrian "revolt": Israel Kirzner's "The 'Austrian' Perspective on the Crisis." There Kirzner covered, in broad strokes, some of the reasons for the Austrian discontent with the neoclassical orthodoxy.

As the Austrians see it, neoclassical economics has lost sight of the fact that economics deals with purposeful, acting individual beings with imperfect knowledge and changing desires, divergent expectations, and mutually incompatible plans. Above all, neoclassical economics loses sight of the ever-changing nature of the "data" which is determined and discovered by individuals participating in the market *process*. These missed insights lead neoclassical economists, according to Kirzner, to construct a theoretical apparatus increasingly removed from economic reality.

Thus it is that Kirzner and the Austrians, following in the footsteps of earlier theorists like Carl Menger, Ludwig von Mises, and Friedrich Hayek, find so much to argue with in neoclassical economics: the arid "formalism" of much of the theorizing, the excessive preoccupation with equilibrium (with its assumptions of perfect knowledge, unchanging data, and "perfect competition"), the near-total mathematization of economics, and the disappearance of the *entrepreneur* from the theory of the market economy. For Kirzner, the entrepreneur—the person who perceives and seizes an opportunity—is the driving force of the market economy.

Perception, Opportunity, and Profit is a collection of thirteen of Kirzner's essays on these themes, a fitting sequel to his *Competition and Entrepreneurship* which broke new ground in 1973. Nine of these essays have been published before, but none in a widely circulated publication; the University of Chicago Press has performed a valuable service in making them all available in a single volume.

Kirzner groups his essays into four broad categories: "Entrepreneurship and Disequilibrium," "Entrepreneurship and Capital in the History of Economic Thought," "The Entrepreneurial Role," and "Entrepreneurship, Justice, and Freedom."

His dominant theme is that, in order to explain the *changes* in market prices or in production techniques, or in the kinds of goods produced — changes which occur daily in a market economy—economists need the idea of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is alertness to previously unnoticed opportunities to earn profits, and noticing these opportunities is what leads the businessman to innovate or to raise or lower prices.

This is a familiar theme of Kirzner's, but in the book's second essay, "Hayek, Knowledge, and Market Processes," we see a subtle blending of the works of Mises and Hayek. Ludwig von Mises, under whom Kirzner studied for nearly twenty years, spoke of the market as a process set in motion by the entrepreneurial drive. Friedrich Hayek spoke of the market as a process whereby thousands of disparate plans are brought into consistency. Kirzner shows that the reasons people have disparate plans — their fragmented knowledge and partial ignorance—are also the reasons that entrepreneurship is profitable. By perceiving that buyers are planning to buy more than sellers are planning to sell at current prices, or by seeing that producers are currently using an inefficient production process, a businessman can reformulate his plans so that he earns profits. Again and again, Kirzner emphasizes the importance of *alertness:* "The entrepreneurial alertness with which the individual is endowed does not refer to a passive vulnerability to the impressions impinging on his consciousness during experience in the manner of a piece of film exposed to the light: it refers to the human propensity to sniff out opportunities lurking around the corner."

Who knows what kinds of lives we could be living if freedom had been achieved and consistently practiced in the West during the twentieth century?

In Section two, Kirzner addresses the view of the role of the entrepreneur in classical economic theory, and the ramifications of this view for the classical conception of the market economy. Two other essays trace the role of the entrepreneur in the works of Carl Menger, as well as Mises's views on capital and interest.

Section three presents five pivotal essays on Kirzner's own view of the entrepreneurial role, trying to address some common misconceptions about capitalism along the way. "Capital, Competition, and Capitalism" addresses the oft-heard charge that concentration of capital in large corporations diminishes competition. Kirzner disagrees; arguing instead that entrepreneurship does not depend on ownership of capital, and that the corporation actually enhances competition by enabling owners of capital (stockholders) to easily hire and fire entrepreneurs (corporate managers) through purchases and sales of stock. Kirzner claims that:

> where the corporate form of business organization permits a measure of independence and discretion to corporate managers, this is an ingenious, unplanned device that eases the access of entrepreneurial talent to sources of large-scale financing. Instead of the entrepreneur having to borrow capital ... the corporate form of organization permits would-be entrepreneurs to hire themselves out to owners of capital as corporate executives.... The capitalists retain formal ownership, permitting them, if they choose, to divest themselves easily of their shares in badly managed firms or, in the last resort, to oust incompetent management.

Kirzner answers those who favor "market socialism"—a system in which the state owns the means of production but attempts to give a measure of discretion to individual managers to seek out the best forms of production—by arguing in favor of private ownership. He shows how "entrepreneurial competition among capitalists plays a vital role" in the selection of which would - be - entrepreneurs shall be entrusted with scarce capital. "Were the state to be the sole source of capital, this level of entrepreneurial competition would be eliminated"—and that would seriously harm an economy, by limiting its ability to select the most able people to be entrusted with capital.

Entrepreneurship is equally important, says Kirzner, in economic development, a fact sadly ignored by all-too-many development economists. In "Entrepreneurship and the Market Approach to Development,"

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Kirzner focuses on the problems this presents. To use resources effectively, and to meet human needs, an economy must be organized so that the best uses for resources are *noticed* and *exploited*. It is the market economy which spurs economic growth, because profit-seeking entrepreneurs are allowed to seek out more efficient uses for resources and then to employ resources in those areas. In Kirzner's view, profits are not merely the incentive to lure entrepreneurs into taking advantage of the opportunities they see, they are the incentive which the market relies upon "*to ensure that these opportunities will be seen in the first place.*" (emphasis added)

In the three essays which follow, "Economics and Error," "Knowing about Knowledge," and "Alertness, Luck, and Entrepreneurial Profit," Kirzner tackles some more technical issues underlying economic controversies. But throughout the essays, Kirzner is really arguing against a passive and mechanical conception of the human mind. Rather, he depicts the individual mind which takes in information, interprets it, selects from it, organizes it, and finally decides and *acts* on a plan. He continually stresses the dynamic (rather than static) nature of human intelligence and decision-making, a view essential to the Austrian approach to economics. This is what helps members of the Austrian school to steer away from excessive preoccupation with equilibrium states and to focus instead on how the market economy operates as a *process*.

The final trilogy of essays are devoted to a broadening and deepening of our appreciation of the free market. In "Producer, Entrepreneur, and the Right to Property," Kirzner relates his conception of entrepreneurship to a theory of property rights, and discusses Locke's views at some length.

Kirzner then takes a step, in "Entrepreneurship, Entitlement, and Economic Justice," toward criticizing and supplementing Robert Nozick's entitlement theory of property, developed in his book *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. In both essays, Kirzner focuses on the fact that a producer has to *perceive and grasp* an opportunity, in a very real sense *creating* something which didn't exist in any objective fashion before. He modifies Locke and Nozick by showing that if we accept Locke's view that a person has a right to that which he "produces" or "creates," and if opportunities are in fact "produced" by a process of alertness and insight, then entrepreneurial profits are justified by the very fact that the entrepreneur has in fact perceived and grasped an opportunity.

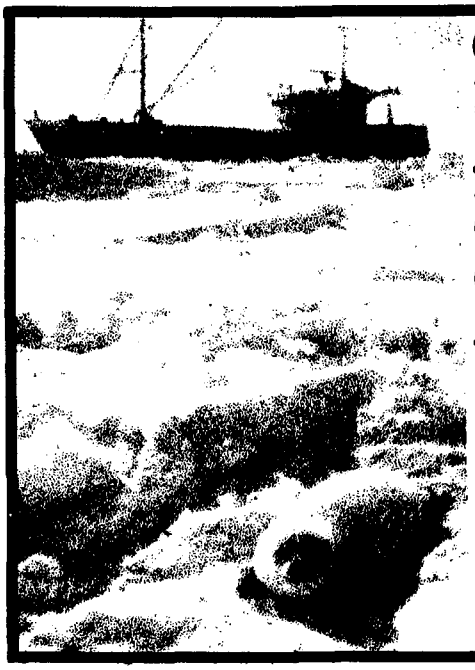
In his final essay, "Entrepreneurship, Choice, and Freedom," Kirzner applies his notion of entrepreneurship to the nature and importance of freedom. Economists have generally equated freedom with the power to achieve a known result by known means. However, if ends and means are not really known and immutable, this definition isn't adequate. Freedom consists not only of pursuing already chosen ends and means, but also of the very ranking of the ends to be pursued and the means to be used.

Freedom, in short, takes on increased significance in a world where ends and means are not given. Once we have chosen our ends and means, if we are then forbidden to take an action that we have already rejected, we feel no loss. But if an action is forbidden *before* we make up our minds, we do feel the loss, because our range of alternatives has been restricted. As Kirzner points out, before we judge between uncertain alternatives, we must first notice the existence of the alternatives. Freedom encourages us to be alert to opportunities and alternatives, by insuring us the opportunity to act on what we discover. Kirzner calls this "the fertility of freedom."

Kirzner thus endorses Hayek's statement that "Liberty is essential in order to leave room for the unforseeable and unpredictable. ... It is ... because we rarely know which of us knows best that we trust the independence and competitive efforts of the many...'"

Kirzner also draws our attention to the obverse side of the free and spontaneous order. If we rely on freedom to bring about effects which no one can specify in advance, then the restriction of freedom will harm us in ways of which we will never be aware. Who knows what kinds of lives we would now be living if freedom had been achieved a thousand years earlier, or if it had been fully achieved and consistently practiced in the Western world during the twentieth century?

In concluding with an eloquent discussion of freedom, Kirzner is in a sense bringing home the importance of all the essays in this book. He is in effect saying to economists: stop looking at the economic world as a world where information or "data" are "given." Look beyond static states, general equilibrium, and perfect competition. Stop seeing the job of economists as that of discovering and fine-tuning macroeconomic states of a textbook model of something called "an economy." Kirzner focuses on entrepreneurship and freedom because he realizes that an "economy" is in a sense a metaphor for the interactions of millions and billions of individual human beings with different



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- Why the professional speculator is always buying when the public is selling and vice

b. Almost all governments including the U.S. and Canadian continue to print paper money at an unbelievable rate and appear to have no concern about possessing enough gold bullion to properly back it. Such actions can only lead to disaster such as a **future monetary collapse.** Some investors believe this will happen about 1985 or sooner and are protecting themselves by holding substantial Canadian penny gold and silver stocks, along with a few ounces of gold and keep all the profits to himself? The answer is that the more people that speculate, the more violent the penny market will become. The more violent the market becomes, the **greater the price ranges** and, consequently, the more opportunity for the knowledgeable speculator to make an **excellent profit.**

Whether you are a seasoned professional investor or a rank amateur, you can't afford to be without this book. Remember, this is a successful professional's lifetime knowledge that cannot be found anywhere else at any price.

A word from the Publisher:

In the past 20 years I have read almost every book on the subject of penny stocks, as I was totally fascinated by the **tremendous profit potential.** Of these books most were unrealistic or impractical for the average investor. A few of these I considered worth their weight in gold and I truly believe Sid Andersen's new book "Pennies Become Dollars" is the **best ever** to be written on the subject of investing in Canadian **penny mining stocks.** Among the most important things stressed in the book "Pennies Become Dollars" is high and low price range and volume, **not** earnings per share or growth rate. Many times an excellent profit can be made on stocks that have no earnings record at all and is often neglected by the so-called sophisticated investor. The reason it is profitable is that its **yearly volume and price range are phenomenal.**

Many unwise investors see a stock make a spectacular gain on news of finding a large gold or silver deposit. They now jump in and buy it at its all-time high, only to see it collapse along with their dreams. Another group of investors are the ones that hold on forever watching it go up and down 500% or more several times a year, not knowing when to sell. You'll never make these mistakes again if you read "Pennies Become Dollars". **Remember that the problem with most speculators is indecision (buying on tips, rumors and hunches and not knowing when to buy**

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mining stocks see inflation and depression several times in any given year moving up and down as much as **1000%** or more.

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These tremendous price swings may take place **within months, weeks, days or even hours.** The author shows you when and why they occur and how to take full advantage of these cycles. Because of the short term price swings your money is not tied up for long periods of time, enabling you to reinvest quickly thereby compounding profit after profit. **Profits of 300% or more** in a few months are possible, for the knowledgeable speculator. That's one of the reasons **many commodity speculators** have started investing in Canadian penny mining stocks. Another is that there are no margin calls along with the same or greater profit potential. Consider this: For a $50. stock to double is a tremendous move, but for a 10¢, 5¢ or even 2¢ stock to double, triple or **quadruple** is no great accomplishment and this may take place in as quick as a few days or even **a few hours.** You'll also learn:

- The inside secrets of the promoters and how they affect you as a speculator — things your broker will probably never tell you.
- Why long dormant issues suddenly make tremendous price gains.
- How speculative mining companies are formed.
- How money is raised through the public.
- How company directors make **300%** profit in a few short months on new issues.
- How it is possible for the knowledgeable versa.
- How to be a professional speculator.
- How anyone from any country in the world can open up a Canadian account.
- Types of accounts you can open: Regular, margin, or short and the power of leverage.
- How and when you should use stop losses and open sell orders.
- Different types of game plans.
  a. Gambler game plan — Medium risk for a quick high profit.
  b. Conservative game plan — Low risk for a small profit.
  c. Penny game plan — Trading only low priced penny issues.
  d. Total game plan — Comprising all three of the above.

Also in the book are little known sources of public information and services that are most valuable to you yet inexpensive, such as a Canadian weekly publication that lists all Canadian mining stocks, their **yearly and weekly price range and volume** and several other vital publications.

Last but not least a method called "The Lazy Man's Way to Substantial Profits" for the individual who has a minimum of time and still wants a fair profit — shows how $5,000.00 can be turned into $25,000.00 within a few short years.

Some very important reasons for you to invest in Canadian mining stocks are as follows:

a. Due to political unrest in South Africa and Rhodesia more and more wise investors are turning to U.S. and Canadian gold and silver stocks. Even the long-term investors are turning their attention to short-term speculation.

silver.

c. The OPEC nations are demanding payment for oil in gold. Because of this, demand for gold will probably increase violently.

d. Recently gold and silver came down temporarily, creating many opportunities for the wise speculator. As it stands now, the price of gold and silver is destined to go up and the wise investor is not worried about day-to-day fluctuations because he uses them to his advantage.

e. Once again, with the possiblity of gold and silver going through the roof, many Canadian and U.S. mines that were once dormant or marginal producers may now become full-time producing mines and make *tremendous price gains.* For example, the average gain of *U.S.* and Canadian mines from 1962 to 1968 was 12,000%. That's right — *Twelve thousand percent*!!! While several even exceeded this with gains up to *100,000*%!!! This sounds incredible, but it happened. This can happen again and it looks like it might. Recently *U.S.* and Canadian penny mines have made tremendous price gains. In the next upward surge for gold and silver these stocks could erupt, possibly creating many new millionaires.

One burning question you may have at this point is if this book can show anyone how to make an excellent profit in penny stocks — why is it being sold? Why doesn't the author **or sell). This is due to the fact that they have never done enough proper research on the subject. This Book will clear up the indecision because the proper research was done and then translated into simple everyday language that you can apply immediately in the privacy of your own home.** I sincerely believe if you follow the material in the Book it can help you to become a successful speculator.

Good luck,
John Bennitt

P.S. In the near future we will be publishing a newsletter based upon the author's methods along with some exciting new concepts in little known areas of investment. We will also be publishing or selling **informative books** on the subject of making money in the Penny Stock Market. We expect to list most U.S. penny mining stocks along with **new penny issues with small capitalization,** information which is usually very difficult to find in one place — so stay with us.

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A few Reviews we recently received commenting on our book "Pennies Become Dollars"

This is the first work of its kind in the history of trading. Never before has the public been offered an opportunity to bridge the gap of knowledge necessary to get on the "insiders" track. It should put the Penny Stock Trader at least 20 years ahead in experience which he might otherwise acquire by costly trial and error. The knowledge in this book is the "edge" that separates the amateurs from the pros. It's a must!

6-2-80 STEPHAN DUMAS, GRYMES HILL MANOR S.I., N.Y

Re: "Your Pennies Become Dollars" April, 1980

What the author has done is present a keen analysis of the movements of selected Canadian penny mining stocks and blended this study with common sense forecasting, opening the doors for those of us not as perceptive to use our own key to success and make a buck too by buying and selling the author's way.

Ernie M. Iannacone, B.Comm., MBA, RIA
Director of two oil and gas corporations
University lecturer and Dean of Business Management

The Northern Miner — Issue of May 15, 1980

BOOK REVIEW

Speculating in pennies

Pennies Become Dollars — profitable speculation in Canadian mining stocks — by Sid Anderson, published by Penny Stock Press, P.O. Box 430 Queens Village Station, New York 11428. Price $US19.95 or two pre-1936 U.S. silver dollars.

... Pennies Become Dollars does take a how-to-make-money approach to this highly speculative side of the mining business, and does offer numerous guides to the prudent speculator and novice alike. It's different. ...

HUDSONGRAM — #26 May 30, 1980

RESOURCES FOR AN INVESTOR

One error a beginning or even an experienced investor will make is being cheap in NOT spending money on knowledge, that is, getting information and understanding about the market and its forces. Such reading will yield bits and pieces of valuable understanding. Below is a list (repeated with updates) of such resources.

One new publication that is a MUST for those involved in the Vancouver market is a book called YOUR PENNIES BECOME DOLLARS. A rather appropriate title! It is by Sid Anderson, a veteran speculator from Vancouver. He discusses the ins and outs of the Vancouver market and the strategies required to be successful there. I agree with many of his ideas. He has a very good concept of profitting so that one ends up with FREE shares by selling part of one's position in stages. In this way, one has NO-RISK SHARES left

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P.S. The same basic method for investing in Canadian penny stocks can be applied to U.S. penny mining stocks.

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knowledge, different ends, and different perceptions of means and opportunities. Opportunities are not something "given"; people create them, discover them, and seize them. Opportunities spring forth as people are alert to the changes going on around them.

In this little volume, as well as the great number of other works in the Austrian tradition so recently published, there is an economic revolution brewing. There is a discarding of the myths, from Marxist to Neoclassical, which have for too long blinded us to the true nature of the market process. There is a searching out of a new framework for understanding fundamental issues, for reorienting how we look at the economic world. In essays sometimes seemingly esoteric, Kirzner's vision of entrepreneurship shines forth with a good deal of brilliance and power.

So too does Kirzner's view of freedom:

> A free society is fertile and creative in the sense that its freedom generates alertness to possibilities that may be of use to society; a restriction on the freedom of a society numbs such alertness and blinds society to possibilities of social improvement. By the very nature of the damage such restriction wreaks, its harmful effects on social welfare may not be able to be noticed, measured or specified. For the understanding of these profoundly important social consequences of economic freedom, I have argued, economists must in turn deepen their understanding of the nature of freedom itself.

And defenders of freedom must, in turn, deepen their understanding of the nature of economics itself. *Perception, Opportunity, and Profit* is a work of considerable intellectual power and, as such, ought to be recommended to economists as well as to libertarians everywhere.

Jack High is Assistant Professor of Economics at California State University, Fullerton.

Propping Up Capitalism

JOHN D. STEWART

Can Capitalism Survive? *by Benjamin A. Rogge. Liberty Press, 328 pp., $9.00.*

"CAN CAPITALISM SURvive?" Joseph Schumpeter suddenly asks the startled reader of *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy.* In 1942 this may not have been a terribly happy question to ask, but Schumpeter's conclusion that capitalism will not survive certain of its own implications could scarcely have been any less dolorous. Accused of defeatism, Schumpeter replied that when the ship is taking on water it is not defeatist to sound the alarm in hopes that the hands will man the pumps; it is defeatist to sit and contentedly sink into oblivion. Is capitalism worth saving? Schumpeter only says that it has been uniquely responsible for the relatively fabulous material well-being the West enjoys today, and so, unless our society sees little significance in low infant mortality rates and well-fed leisure, perhaps some of us ought to run to the pumps.

We will, of course, find a few indefatigable souls already on duty. One of them was, until November 17, the late Professor Rogge, who, with the help of the splendid Liberty Press, has performed in this book two tasks: he sounds a loud and clear alarm and he proceeds to bring wit and reason to the chore of pumping out a good deal of the economic nonsense that has beset the discussion of public policy. *Can Capitalism Survive?* is a collection of vintage Rogge. It contains essays and speeches written during the last twenty years or so on diverse topics: the business system, labor markets, money and inflation, the problems of cities, and higher education, to name some.

Like Schumpeter, Rogge sees capitalism as being in deep trouble, and he endorses, in his opening essay, Schumpeter's explanation of what is doing it in. On the face of it, the analysis is Marxian: capitalism is, really, wreaking its own destruction. But, at bottom, Schumpeter's reasoning follows a different path from the one that Marx treads. Capitalism is edging toward its demise, Schumpeter argues, because, though it and only it produced the material splendor of our time, it is incapable of winning substantial loyalty from any sector of society, not even from the businessmen.

Capitalism rewards those who show initiative, intelligence, and appropriate common sense and ability, and thus it must reward some more than it does others. But, as Schumpeter painstakingly points out, the successful cannot win their reward without serving (sporadic benefit) and enriching (lasting benefit) a good deal more people of all classes than they had intended. Discontented with their lot, and naturally enough unwilling to draw from it the apposite conclusions about themselves, the intellectuals begin to strike at capitalism by propagandizing amongst and (mostly) to the working and lower classes. These people cannot be expected to comprehend, any more than anyone else, quite how bread and butter and much more comes to them from what is, by dint of its diffusion, dispersion, and decentralization, a vexingly complex economic system. Some are thus seduced by the intellectuals. The businessman, competent in his office, is ill-suited almost by nature to struggle against the intellectuals; he is essentially unaggressive and preoccupied by the proper, but mundane and strictly delimited, tasks of his calling.

The intellectual has two sets of allies, the like-minded "public servants" who staff the hypertrophic levels of government and the so-called organization men who would be equally comfortable toiling for nationalized corporations. Add to their assault the disintegration, brought about by capitalism itself, of the last remnants of the traditional, protective, aristocratic elements in society, and the result, Schumpeter concludes, must be the collapse of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. After presenting these themes, Rogge, in a much later essay, "The Businessman and the Defense of Capitalism," makes bold to prescribe a course of action meant to combat the recent trend against capitalism, a trend that has uncannily conformed to Schumpeter's description.

The businessman and anyone else who wants to man the pumps, Rogge says, must see clearly that the regnant idea in the hands of bureaucrats and socialist intellectuals alike is the notion that they know what is best not only for themselves, but for everyone else as well; they further believe that, since they know this remarkable thing, they may justifiably exercise the coercive powers of government toward the making of the good (or Great) soci-

Under capitalism, the successful cannot win their reward without unintentionally serving people of all classes.

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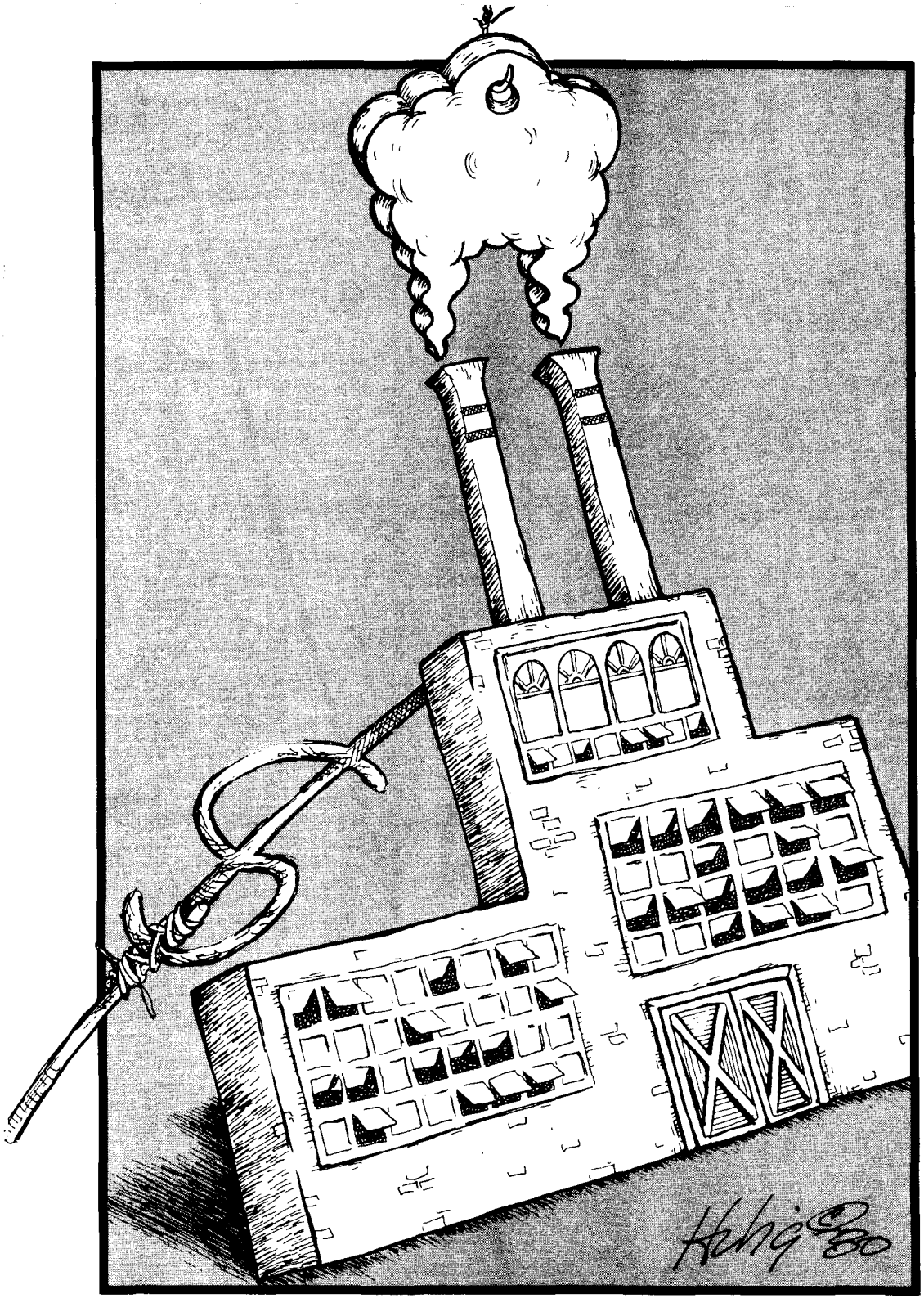

ety. It is a mistake to discount the power of ideas. On the other hand, these ideas can and must be confronted with counter-ideas. Anybody solicitous of capitalism, Rogge insists, should develop and refine his own notions about human nature and the role of man in this unjust world. He must read and reflect, and even do a bit of writing. All this is hard work, which may be why businessmen have been so much on the run lately. They must, if they are to preserve capitalism, Rogge says, apply to their own most fundamental ideals the incredible dynamism and shrewdness they are used to exerting from nine to five. Perhaps the most important conclusion they will reach is, not that they know what is best for everyone, but that they only know what is best for themselves; and, in the light of this humility, they may be prepared to take on the ideas of those hostile to capitalism.

Perhaps the most important essays in this book are the several that follow the opening essay on Schumpeter. In "The Case for Economic Freedom," Rogge sets out his conception of what, in part, human nature comprises. Man, he says, is essentially a free, responsible, and imperfect creature. Later, in his essay on another mentor, Adam Smith, he appears to add "competitive" to the list. Now, as he says, these are "assumptions," intuitions about human nature no doubt derived from much reflection, reading, and, above all, observation, and so we can hardly ask him to "prove" them. Still, a bit more substantiation, perhaps drawn from that reading and observation, would have been in order. Rogge does clearly define what he means by these terms, however. A free man is one who may do anything so long as he refrains from forcing or defrauding any of his fellows. This liberty is Rogge's principal value, and, by including it in his catalog of human nature, he seems to imply that men will naturally incline toward freedom of this sort and against all restraint, no matter what their condition. Responsibility merely means that we are all, in the last resort, to be blamed or credited for what we do; our misbehavior cannot properly be laid to society or to our parents, for the fault lies in us.

It can be conjectured that Rogge gives us his conception of rationality in his remark on Marx's famous claim that in communist society, I should be able to "hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind." Rogge, in his concluding essay on the Foundation for Economic Education, calls this sort of thinking a "denial of reason, of process, of rational choice." Apparently, then, he sees rationality as thought that adheres to the elements in human nature already mentioned; Marx's utopian dream is thus irrational because it neglects the essential imperfection of man (and, arguably, his responsible and competitive sides). If indeed this is Rogge's concep-

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tion of rationality, it is certainly worthy enough of further discussion, and it is regrettable that he did not elaborate it, perhaps in his section on the nature of economics.

These are the fundamental ideas of the book, at least to this reviewer. Professor Rogge, as mentioned, has something to say about several topics in and out of economics, and much of this is quite illuminating. These essays, though obliquely, carry on the theme of the title; they try to explain a good deal of the workings of capitalism and the failings of its alternatives. The essays "Profits" (they can never be "too high" or "too low" in a free exchange"), "The Labor Monopoly" (closed-shop unions not only harm their members more than they serve them, they violate a sacred principle of our society — equality before the law), "The Long Run Economic Outlook" (in current circumstances — accelerating inflation, no depression, but periodic recessions), "The Problems of Cities" (again, regulation by government is the chief culprit), and "Financing Higher Education" (colleges can only overcome their budgetary woes by charging tuition that meets the full cost of education) are the most engaging and trenchant.

One learns a good deal of economics in reading this book, and Rogge's style and humor are refreshing departures from the usual habits of social science writers.

The Liberty Press is to be commended for its service in making available so many worthy titles at such agreeable prices. *Can Capitalism Survive?* will take its place as one of the worthiest of those titles, for the humane and good-humored qualities of the author as well as for the wit, good sense, learning, and scope of the book.

John D. Stewart is a free-lance editor.

On View

Lift every self

DAVID BRUDNOY

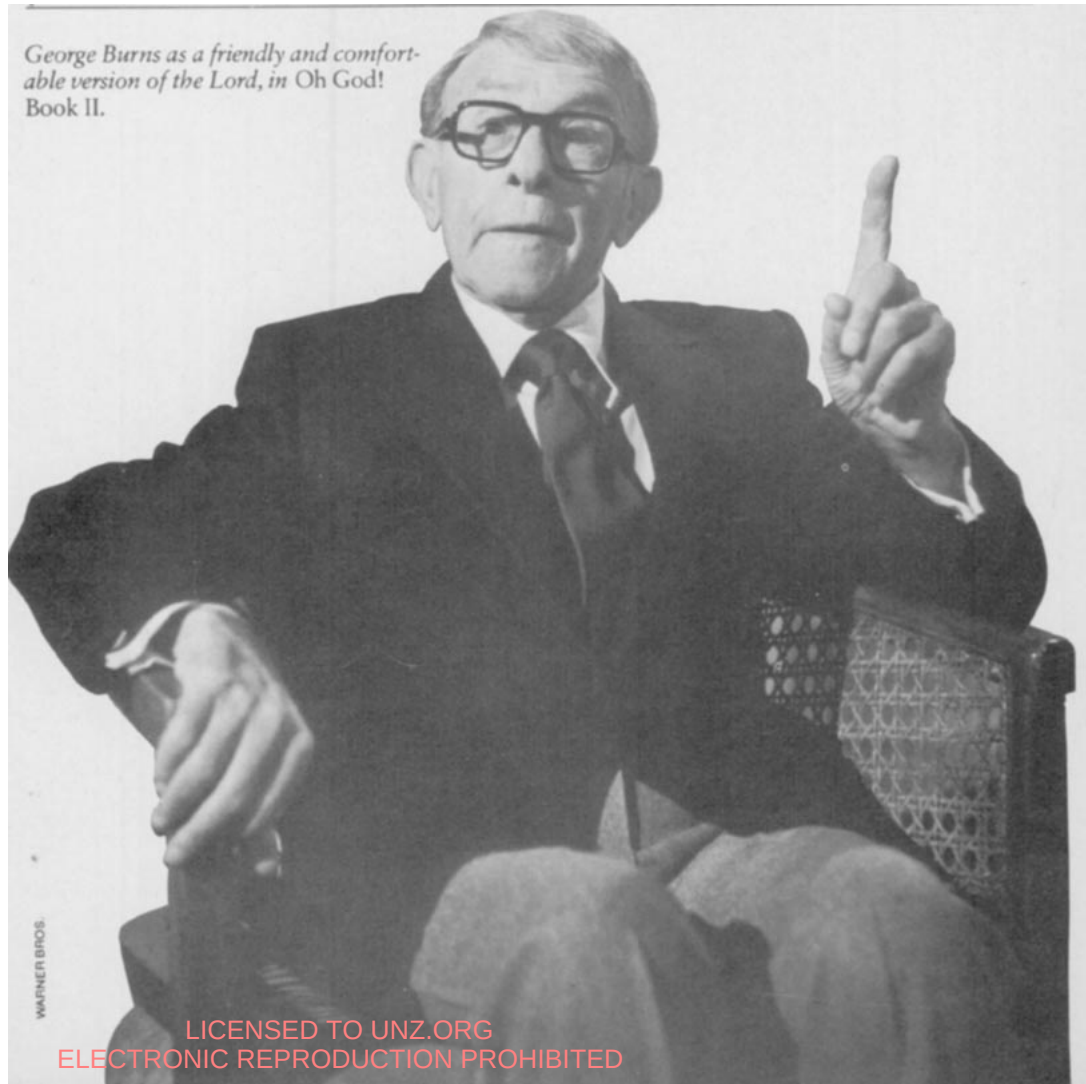
NO ONE DREAMS ABOUT the joys of losing money and becoming poor. Maybe an occasional back-to-basics type bemoans the complexities of life and actually tears up his credit cards and retires to the woods to play Thoreau. But your garden variety dreamer imagines himself the sudden inheritor of somebody else's vast fortune, cruising the Greek isles with a honey or two and all that comes along with the Midas touch.

Melvin and Howard

Easy Street, with or without yellow bricks, is surely the majority's idea of Oz, and in our time, give or take a Getty, nobody seemed better to exemplify the lost opportunities to enjoy easy street than the (probably) late Howard Hughes. Little wonder that Melvin Dummar, who passed through a dozen occupations on his way to no success at any of them, caught the public imagination when for a time it looked as if he, this Melvin Who?, stood to inherit the vast Hughes fortune. If you're going to take the time and trouble to dream, might as well dream big, and what dream in a success-oriented society could be bigger than young, sad Melvin's?

Little matter that the poignancy of the Melvin Dummar experience far overshadowed the comic aspect. It is a story straight out of the book of the big American fantasy, an ideal subject for an epic tale or, as happens, for a splendid movie, the lyrical comedy of the year, *Melvin and Howard*. As directed by Jonathan Demme, the film moves sure-footedly through two sequential stories—Melvin's irritatingly luckless years, followed by his brief prospects as Howard's heir—and it accomplishes at once a delicious allegorical task (of which more later) and a neat examination of the grubby nature of mundane American life.

Melvin Dummar, at least as portrayed by Paul Le Mat, is a winning enough fellow whose fate is to come ever so close but never close enough to the realization of the national dream of untold riches. Le Mat's Dummar stands within a tradition every one of us understands fully: he grubs at this, he tries that, he reaches over there, ever over to farther and farther theres, to make it. His first wife (Mary Steenburgen) wins $10,000 on a TV game show called "Easy Street," and Melvin blows it in an instant on



George Burns as a friendly and comfortable version of the Lord, in Oh God! Book II.

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Jason Robards (insert) as Howard Hughes, and Paul Le Mat as Melvin Dummar, the man who claimed to have been befriended by Hughes and thus to be the beneficiary of the so-called Mormon will, in Melvin and Howard.

down payments for large, conspicuous consumer items, the balance on which he can of course not pay. His second wife (Pamela Reed) ties him a bit more tightly to reality, but Dummar dreams the big dream and is ripe, over-ripe, for the plucking when at last the fates seem to have handed him the prize.

We get all too little of Hughes (Jason Robards), who in the film and in the real Melvin Dummar's recounting of the story accepted a minor favor from Dummar one lonely evening and, as in the nicest of fairy tales, remembered, remembered so well that he made Dummar the beneficiary of the so-called Mormon will. Well, everybody knows that it came to nothing in the end; there is no glorious ending to the film because there was no glorious triumph in the courts. Melvin returned to ground zero and we are left, as Melvin was left, with no bags of gold and jewels for the nice guy who may or may not have met, befriended, and so mightily impressed the multi-millionaire.

So much for the story and for Melvin as Melvin. But this cinema Melvin exists on a second level, above or at least beyond the linear. He is something of an Everyman for our time, no Bunyanesque pilgrim, to be sure, but a seeker nonetheless, progressing from one to another pitfall which blocks the realization of his goal. He wants not wisdom or beatific contentment, he searches not after the perfection of his soul, he chases no ideal of spiritual oneness: he hungers for lots of goodies, things, items, threads, wheels, plastic cards, dollar bills, charge accounts. Our Melvin seeks to be uplifted to wealth, the truest measure of worth in our day. Argue with it as you will, or disdain such a puny conception of the ultimate happiness, for we would not be our accustomed self-righteous American selves if we didn't submit to the temptation to put poor Melvin down: still, the man is completely of our time and wholly an exemplar of our real value system, more than merely Melvin, something rather on the order of Man. Not for Demme the simple telling of one story when two, in his hands, are as easily told. And he does it with such infectious grace, such certain comprehension of the shared aspirations of subject and audience, that he even permits himself a lovely, absolutely fitting daydream as coda.

The cinema, like sit-com television, panders to our wishes; how else could an abysmal bit of TV drivel like "Fantasy Island" endure, season after season, except that all of us can effortlessly will ourselves to cheer on the folks who disembark on that place out of time and mind in search of their dreams? That the Mormon will was never admitted to probate, that the consensus is that Melvin is at best an ingenious faker, that the tale is happier as sustained put-on than as remotely possible fact: all this granted, the will to believe that a mad prank is actually a semi-madman's way of rewarding a good deed, coupled with the audience's hopes for Melvin—because if it can happen to Melvin it can happen, who knows, to me—make *Melvin and Howard* the swellest sort of contemporary comic film. It dashes our hopes at the last moment, but then we knew all along that Melvin Dummar didn't get Howard Hughes's money. Yet along the bumpy, funny trail it lets our imaginations soar, it invites us to hope, it tells us that however prosaic the present may be, tomorrow the sun may shine forever. Nice stuff if you can get it. The dream may elude us but the hope springs eternal. Get thee behind me, *me;* I'm not just little ole me, *me;* I am ME. That's the ticket.

Oh God! Book II

So who says that any man's dream of transcendence can

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never be fashioned into life? The major religion of the West is grounded on precisely this. God becomes Man, then Man reunites again with God, this God-Man cheats death, is resurrected and offers to those who follow Him eternal life. But we aren't very much in the habit nowadays, at least not in general audience movies, of taking that straight, without at least a jigger of something to lower it a notch or two from the august heights of theological mystery. We like our God on screen not as a burning bush, not as Jehovah from the Sistine ceiling. We are comfortable with George Burns as the Lord, even in so slight an item as *Oh God! Book II,* a pallid sequel to the wispy 1977 film of half the same name. You could hardly come up with a simpler or more p.r.-activated slogan than "Try God," and you can get buttons saying just that, in the precious or worthless metal of your choice. So we have here to make do with "Think God," the slogan little Tracy (played by something called Louanne, who lacks not only a last name but also a personality) dreams up to satisfy Him when He comes among us once again, pissed off that the world has forgotten Him.

Oh God! Book II is good for a few laughs, little throaty, tentative giggles, if not for any hearty belly-shakers, and probably its adequate success at the box office insures us a third installment, assuming that George Burns can bear the cutesy stuff once more. The film's implicit message, however, is what concerns us: God's a nice old geezer with a nice sense of humor, and He might just as well appear to a moppet as not. It rather swiftly makes away with such bothersome considerations as dogma and such nuisances as redemption, not to mention the casual way it dispenses with really worrisome matters, like sin. We hunger for easy street not only in the material but also in the spiritual world, so why not God as a variation of Howard Hughes before he became a hermit with long fingernails? Why not think God, if thinking God brings us God with horn-rimmed glasses and an adequate toupee?

Somewhere in Time

Every culture has its share of romantic young swains who'll trudge through fire and ice, who'll climb the highest mountain and swim the deepest ocean, and on and on, to get the girl. *Somewhere in Time* adds a new wrinkle to the routine, positing a handsome, successful, dreamy chap who falls in love with a photograph taken in 1912 and who, having put two and two and two together and come up with time travel as the answer, wills himself back to that year and finds her, woos her, wins her, and, all because of a shiny new penny, loses her. When last we met Christopher Reeve he was *Superman;* now he's Richard, without a 'phone booth in sight, though amply armed with a mania to meet that lovely lady in the photograph on the wall. Things like *Somewhere in Time* are condescendingly called "women's movies" because they are supposed to activate the tear ducts in sentimental females. All you need is the right megadose of beauty in the lovers, oodles of gushy romantic music, the prettiest of costumes, and, of course, an appropriately bittersweet ending, and you've got it made. I suppose that even to subject this mindless trash to a critical glance is to pay it too much attention, though we are considering the ways recent films help lift us out of ourselves and this one is tailor-made for that merry elevation.

Jane Seymour is exquisite, and Christopher Reeve, though he is the least sexy of dashing leading men, is suitably clean-cut, perfect of face and form, and the forlorn, wistful look fits him as well as his Superman tights. Watching the young man pine for love, strive to get through time for love, connive for love, and so dramatically expire for love, one wants only for him to disappear forever for love. It is not to be. The film expresses a couple of very dearly held aspirations of our age: to get back to "the good old days" and to risk everything for tender (or at least carnal) bliss eternal. If your present lot is insufficient, however healthy, admired, attractive, accomplished, and successful you may be, there are, after all, only two possible ways to better things. One is lowering your expectations and being content with what you've got; the other is discovering, seizing, and incorporating into your very being the missing element in your life. The first way is that of mere boring mortals like us, and the movies aren't designed for us to sit and look at us as us, they're designed to get us to rise above mere us-ness. *Somewhere in Time,* although it stars the wrong man—Reeve is lovely but vacant — and suffers from a script that wrecks it at every turn is, for all that, on the right track if what you're after is a couple of hours of utterly preposterous escapism.

Resurrection

Some people dream of riches, others of having cozy chats with God, still others of finding Miss Right, and then there are those who dream of playing God, at least of doing God's work. Consider Edna Mae (Ellen Burstyn), who suffers a near-fatal automobile accident—a *fatal* accident, we are to believe, from which she is somehow granted a reprieve—and after this develops the healing power. This is *Resurrection,* an

UNIVERSAL CITY PICTURES

Ellen Burstyn and Sam Shepard star in Resurrection.

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oddly disjointed movie that soars beautifully in some scenes of healing and compassion, then sinks to the silliest depths as it attempts to reconcile the power this lady possesses with her total absence of any understanding of—or even willingness to pretend that she has an understanding of—its source. While her odd boyfriend (Sam Shepard) goes off the deep end, convinced that if she isn't possessed by God then it's the other guy who's giving her the healing ability, Edna Mae just keeps on healing, radiating love and goodness and sincere unconcern about ultimate questions of origin or consequence. This is the perfect example of having it both ways: we are able to thrill to a swell gal graced by a most congenial ability (imagine, no need for the intercession of those nasty old physicians), and at the same time we don't have to crease our brows over any puzzling questions. She's got the power, like some wonder detergent, and that's that.

Resurrection halfway revives the miracle movie but stops short of requiring anything of us but admiration. No adoration, as we were once thought likely to bring to movies about god-like power in the gentle hands of mortals; no theological quibbles; nothing but here's the healing and ain't it fine? It *is* a fine thing, to be sure, and so effortless to appreciate when all the more brooding questions are whisked away. Believe in God? Fine, just fine. Don't believe in God? That's cool, too. Edna Mae could be gone over with a psychoanalytical comb and be found easily enough to have some screws loose. But she's such a well-meaning lady, whose father never loved her, whose mother died on her, whose rustic background sat awkwardly on her shoulders. Best just to accept the grace of healing and not muddy the waters with thoughts. When uplift's the game, nitpicking's a shame.

20TH CENTURY FOX FILMS

In Stuntman, *Peter O'Toole plays a perfectionist director who hires a Vietnam veteran (Steve Railsback) on the lam from the police to risk life and limb in his action films.*

The Stunt Man

The movies remain our modern magical mystery tour. We *want* to squeal in terror when the fiend comes slashing his way through the coeds' dorm with his machete. We want to hide our eyes when the child is crushed under the diesel truck's wheels. We want to gasp in amazement as the hero jumps twenty feet from precipice to precipice. And we want to believe and at the same moment to know that we're ninnies when we believe that the guy going up in flames is hurting, bad. Comes then *The Stunt Man* to play a wonderful game with us. We're going to see how it's done, how *un*dangerous those derring-do scenes are for the stars and how dicey they are for the agile hired hands who for a few hundred bucks will provide us with the thrills and the chills. If you can get over the memory of Peter O'Toole loathesomely diseased in *Caligula,* welcome him back to the more dashing mode as Eli Cross, perfectionist director willing to risk life and limb (somebody else's life and limb) for the greater glory of the cinema.

Cameron (Steve Railsback), a Vietnam veteran fleeing from the police for a reason that adds up to very little indeed, falls by accident into Cross's clutches. Hide out with *us,* muscular young man, the director says; all you have to do is fill in for our recently deceased stunt man Bert. *The Stunt Man* inches carefully around the periphery of some rather somber questions, perhaps expressed adequately if not very well like so: What Is Reality? What Is Delusion? When Does Reality Become Delusion? You can see how far that sort of line will take us. To embarrassed titters. Which is why *The Stunt Man* shoves the action into the foreground and treads lightly on the dark, gloomy philosophizing a more ambitious, more intense movie would likely accentuate. Here our young hero is permitted to worry that the movie director might be angling to slaughter him; he is allowed a doubt or two about the fidelity of his new-found lady; and he gets to screech now and again as the stunts multiply in complexity. Buttressing a somewhat anxious ego is not one of Eli Cross's specialties, but, wonder of wonders, he turns out to be a jolly good man after all, and our very happy young stunt man makes the happiest of happy endings almost believable. Railsback falls a tad short of what's required when he has to say something; this is an actor who is to be seen, not heard. But what he lacks in vocal imagination he makes up for with animal sinew, and O'Toole takes up the slack in the dialogue department quite handily.

The Stunt Man only hints at the possibilities for something resembling a profound examination of the subject at hand. The director, Cross, knows that the audiences for his pictures want to be amazed, and the neophyte stunt man knows that he doesn't know much except, as he puts it in some sort of supposedly deep euphemism for avoiding being blown to bits in 'Nam, how to "get home for Thanksgiving." He does know that six hundred bucks for a good leap and a thousand for a plunge off a bridge in a swanky old car is better than eating dandelions, and that pretending to be what he's not will keep him out of the hands of the law. He's a sensible lad indeed. He wants to be free, and that, in these perilous times, is as good a desire as any and better than most.

Melvin probably never met his Howard, but Cameron sinks and lives to swim to the surface again. He also gets the girl. Happy endings are not common in real life. Now you know why we have movies always with us. ❑

LR's film critic also reviews for WNAC-TV (CBS), WHDH Radio, and *The Boston Herald American*. He hosts "The David Brudnoy Show" on radio and "Nightscene" on television, writes a newspaper column for national distribution, and reviews books for a number of journals.

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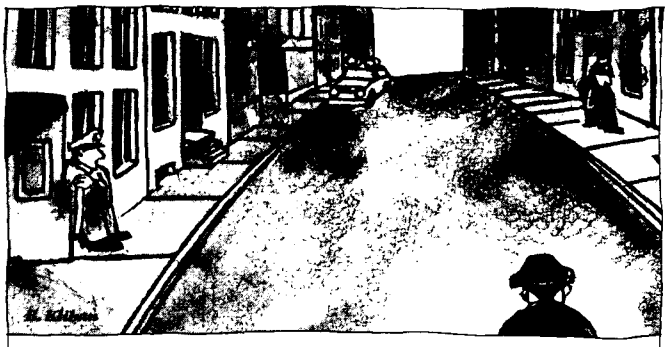

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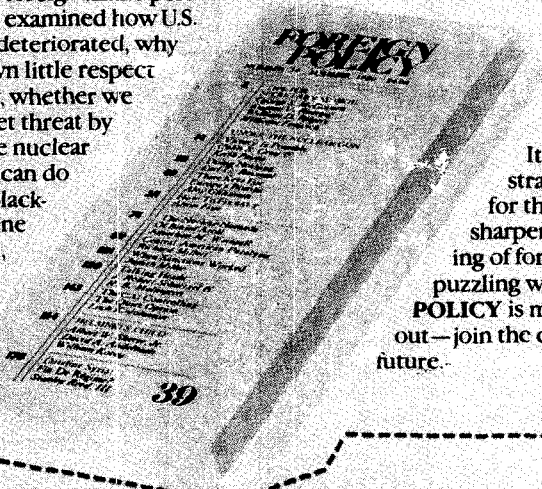

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